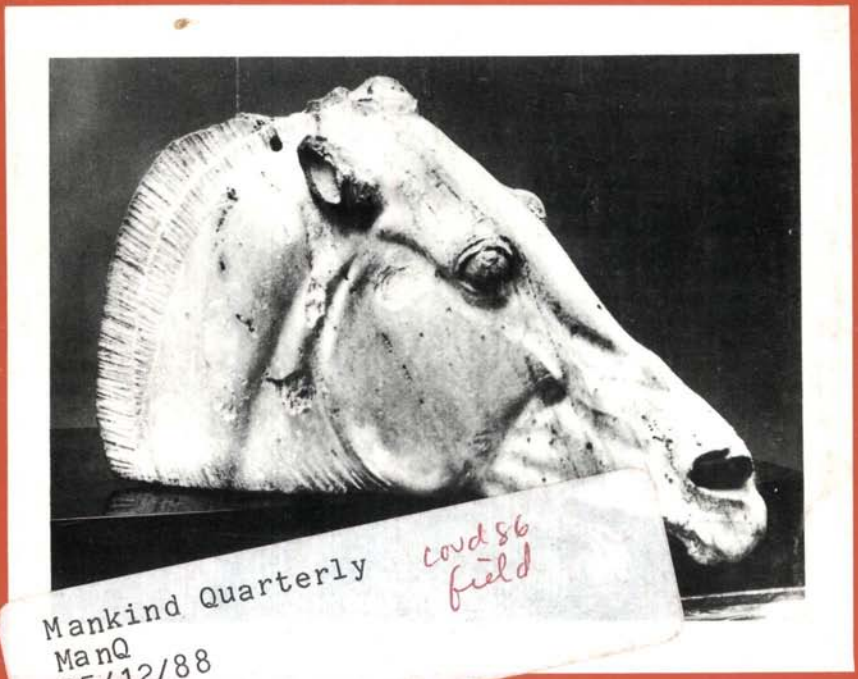
THE MANKIND QUARTERLY



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DERMATOGLYPHICS – 50 YEARS LATER

Wladimir Wertelecki and Chris C. Plato, Editors

Fingerprints, first a medical curiosity, then a means of identification, began to attract the interest of anthropologists in the 1920s. It was then that Cummins and Midlo, coining the term "dermatoglyphics," laid the groundwork for its use by social scientists. More recently, biomedical researchers have been drawn to dermatoglyphics because of the unique status of finger and palm prints as genetic and developmental markers. The current breadth of interest in this science has created a need for communication among researchers who use print data in their individual disciplines.

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Wladimir Wertelecki and Chris C. Plato, Editors
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Cover Picture: Head of a horse (from the chariot of Selene, goddess of the Moon) on the pediment of the Parthenon c. 435 B.C.

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A SYMPOSIUM ON INDO-EUROPEAN SOCIETY AND RELIGION HELD AT THE XIth INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SCIENCES IN VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA (CANADA) ON AUGUST 21-22, 1983

At the initiative of Edgar C. Polomé, a number of scholars felt that the XIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences might provide an excellent opportunity to renew the tradition of the Indo-European symposia devoted to religion and culture which was initiated in the sixties by Professor Jaan Puhvel of the University of California at Los Angeles. The two volumes "Myth and Law among the Indo-Europeans" (1970) and "Myth in Indo-European Antiquith" (1974) attest to the importance and scholarly impact of these conferences, the second of which was attended by the Nester of Indo-European comparative mythology, Georges Dumézil, then visiting professor at U.C.L.A.

Plans for the Vancouver meeting involved an important French participation as the main purpose was to exchange ideas on the major issues in current research in Indo-European comparative religion. Originally scheduled were the following presentations by French scholars:

Françoise Bader, "Un mythe indo-européen de l'immersion/émergence."

Dominique Briquel, "La Royauté dans les Cieux en Grèce: Perspectives comparatives."

François-Xavier Dillmann, "Le magicien dans l'Islande ancienne."

Daniel Dubuisson, "The Indo-European Components in the Rāmāyaṇa."

Jean Haudry, "Being and appearing in Indo-European thought."

Boris Oguibénine, "Aspects de la reconstruction du sacrifice indo-européen."

Robert Schilling, "Le citoyen romain dans la communauté romaine du premier siècle avant J.C. Traditionalisme religieux et ouverture philosophique."

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Unfortunately, budgetary restrictions in the French universities and drastic foreign exchange regulations made it impossible for most French participants to attend the Symposium. Only Mme Bader of the Ecole des Hautes Études at the Sorbonne in Paris represented France. Similar financial considerations deprived the Symposium of the participation of Dr. Stefan Zimmer of the University of Berlin (West Germany) who was to speak about: "La société indo-européenne vue par un non-Dumézilien." Furthermore, two American participants were prevented from attending for personal reasons; their proposed papers were:

Udo Strutynski, "The *Waltarius* Mutilations."

Calvert Watkins, "Art and artifice in the Indo-European prayer."

The original idea was to publish a volume with the collected papers of this conference, but though a few of the scholars who could not attend nevertheless sent their papers, it was felt that the studies available constituted a nice collection of articles illustrating the various approaches to the study of comparative mythology and were therefore better suited for publication in this journal.

Edgar C. Polomé

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THE STUDY OF RELIGION IN THE CONTEXT OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE: A PROSPECT FOR THE COMING DECADE, WITH FOCUS ON GERMANIC AND INDO-EUROPEAN

EDGAR C. POLOMÉ
University of Texas at Austin

The quarter of a century of research since the late fifties has seen the blossoming of new approaches to the study of the Indo-European heritage with the work of Emile Benveniste and Georges Dumézil and the theoretical framework offered by the structural anthropology of Lévi-Strauss and the patterns of comparative religion with Mircea Eliade.(1) Following the tracks of the French linguist Benveniste, a number of French classicists (J.P. Vernant, M. Detienne, P. Vidal-Naquet, R. Girard a.o.) studies in depth the various aspects of Greek myth and thought in their proper context, with special attention to the history of concepts and the development of society.(2)

(1) See, in particular: Emile Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes.* Vol. 1. *Economie, parenté, société.* Vol. 2. *Pouvoir, droit, religion.* Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1969. English translation by Elizabeth Palmer: *Indo-European Language and Society*. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1973; Mircea Eliade, *Patterns of Comparative Religion.* Translated by Rosemary Sheed. Cleveland: Meridian Books (The World Publishing Company), 1963. *A History of Religious Ideas.* Vol. 1. *From the Stone Age to the Eleusinian Mysteries.* 1978. Vol. 2. *From Gautama Buddha to the Triumph of Christianity.* 1982. Both translated from the French by William R. Trask. Vol. 3. *From Muhammad to the Age of Reforms.* 1985. Translated by Alf Hiltebeitel and Diane Apostolos-Cappadona. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*. Translated from the French by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf. New York: Doubleday & Co. (Anchor Books), 1967. For a bibliography of the work of Georges Dumézil, see: C. Scott Littleton, *The New Comparative mythology. An Anthropological Assessment of the Theories of Georges Dumézil.* 3rd edition. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982. Edgar C. Polomé, "Introduction." In: E.C. Polomé (ed.), *Homage to Georges Dumézil*, pp. 5-15. (Journal of Indo-European Studies – Monograph No. 3). Washington, D.C.: The Institute for the Study of Man, 1982. In addition, three works by Georges Dumézil appeared recently: (a) a new edition of *Heur et malheur du guerrier*, Paris: Flammarion, 1985; (b) *La Courtisane et les seigneurs colorés. Esquisses de mythologie.* Paris: NRF/Gallimard, 1983; (c) *L'oubli de l'homme et l'honneur des dieux. Esquisses de mythologie.* Paris: NRF/Gallimard, 1985.

(2) Among the many thought-provoking works of these scholars, let us mention: (a) J.P. Vernant, *Les origines de la pensée grecque.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962 (English translation: *The Origins of Greek Thought*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982). *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs. Etudes de*

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Georges Dumézil found a mixed following on both sides of the Atlantic, and nowadays, a new team of enthusiastic scholars pursues his task, improving, correcting, and expanding his views (D. Briquel, F. Bader, Fr.-X. Dillmann, D. Dubuisson, J.H. Grisward, Chr.-J. Guyonvarc'h, J. Haudry, F. Le Roux, J.-C. Rivière, R. Schilling, B. Sergent, J. Varenne in France; C. Scott Littleton, Jaan Puhvel, D. Miller, U. Strutynski and others in this country.(3) Research on cosmological con-

psychologie historique. Paris: F. Maspero, 1965 (English translation: *Myth and Thought among the Greeks.* London/Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983). *Mythe et société en Grèce ancienne.* Paris: F. Maspero, 1974. (English translation: *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece.* Atlantic Heights, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1980. (with P. Vidal-Naquet) *Mythe et tragédie en Grèce ancienne.* Paris: F. Maspero, 1972 (English translation: *Tragedy and Myth in Ancient Greece.* Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1981). J.P. Vernant (ed.), *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne.* The Hague: Mouton, 1968. *Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité: huit entretiens suivis de discussion. Vandœuvres – Genève . . .* 1980. Genève: Fondation Hardt, 1981. (b) Marcel Detienne, *Les jardins d'Adonis. La mythologie des aromates en Grèce.* Paris, NRF/Gallimard, 1962 (English translation: *The Gardens of Adonis,* Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1977). *Les maîtres de vérité dans la Grèce antique.* Paris: F. Maspero, 1973 (2nd ed.). *Dionysos mis à mort.* Paris: NRF/Gallimard, 1977 (English translation: *Dionysos slain.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979). *L'invention de la mythologie.* Paris: NRF/Gallimard, 1981. (with J.P. Vernant) *Les ruses de l'intelligence. La métis chez les Grecs.* Paris: Flammarion, 1974(English translation: *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society.* Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1978). *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec.* Paris: NRF/Gallimard, 1979. Marcel Detienne (ed.) *Myth, Religion and Society: Structuralist Esssays.* Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981. (c) Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir. Formes de pensée et formes de société dans le monde grec.* Paris: F.Maspero, 1981. (d) René Girard, *La violence et le sacré.* Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1972 (English translation: *Violence and the Sacred.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press , 1977).

(3) While it is not possible to list here all the important articles relevant to the new approach to the study of Indo-European religion and mythology, special mention should be made of the several volumes honoring Georges Dumézil in the last few years, as they provide a fair idea of the extent and the scope of his impact on the field: Jean-Claude Rivière (ed.), *Georges Dumézil à la découverte des Indo-Européens.* Paris: Copernic, 1979; Jacques Bonnet (ed.), *Pour un temps/Georges Dumezil.* Paris: Centre Pompidou/Aix-en-Provence: Pandora editions, 1981; Edgar C. Polomé, *Homage to Georges Dumézil.* Washington D.C.: Institute for the Study of Man, 1982 (Journal of Indo-European Studies, Monograph No. 3).

A number of books recently published in the U.S. and in France also illustrate the development of research in comparative Indo-European religion, e.g.: Joël H. Grisward, *Archéologie de l'épopée médiévale. Structures trifonctionnelles et mythes indo-européens dans le cycle des Narbonnais.* Paris: Payot, 1981; Jean Varenne, *Cosmogonies vediques.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres/Milano: Arche, 1982; cf. E.C. Polomé's comments in this journal (vol. 23: 1 [1982], pp. 61-66); Bruce Lincoln, *Myth, Cosmos, and Society. Indo-European Themes of Creation and Destruction.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986.

The underlying Dumézilian tripartite system is also brought forward in more specialized works like *Les Druides* by Francoise Leroux and Christian-J. Guyonvarc'h

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ceptions, expanded by a better understanding of the oldest texts – including Hittite – leads to a reassessment of the Indo-European myths of creation.(4) Germanic religion, freed from the bias of the forties, is reinterpreted with regard to the latest archeological finds and within the framework of current views on magic, sacrifice, religious symbolism and such. Out of this grows a new perspective on the meaning of the runes, on the role of myth in society, and on the significance of religious symbolism.(5) The study of languages in the investigation of ethnogenesis has illustrated the importance of catalyzing fac-

(Rennes: Ogam-Celticum, 1976) or surveys of specific religions or mythologies like Régis Boyer's *La religion des anciens Scandinaves* (Paris: Payot, 1981). Also building on it is the section on religion in Jean Haudry's *Les Indo-Européens* (*Que sais-je?* Vol. 1965. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985 [2nd ed.], pp. 72-88).

Moreover, besides the long-established journals like the French *Revue de l'histoire des religions* or the American *History of Religion*, such periodicals as *Ogam-Tradition Celtique* (published in Rennes by Francoise Leroux and Christian-J. Guyonvarc'h) or *Etudes Indo-Européennes* (published in Lyon by Jean Haudry) have made an important contribution to the diffusion of the new ideas, whereas *la Nouvelle Ecole,* in particular helped to make them known to a wider public. Furthermore, the *Annales Economies – Sociétiés – Civilisations* have published significant papers by Bernard Sergent, Daniel Dubuisson and others.

(4) *Priests, Warriors and Cattle. A Study in the Ecology of Religion.* Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, esp. pp. 37-39, 46-95, 163-172. On the interpretation of the Germanic data, cf., however, Edgar C. Polomé, "The Background of Germanic Cosmogonic Myths." In: Bela Brogyanyi (ed.), *H. Klingenberg Festschrift,* Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986 (in the press).

(5) On the runes, the best introduction is Klaus Düwel's *Runenkunde*, 2nd edition, Sammlung Metzler, Vol. 72 (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1983). A complete survey of the runic inscriptions and their religious and magical significance is provided by the University of Texas dissertation of Stephen Flowers: *Runes and Magic: Magical Formulaic Elements in the Elder Runic Tradition* (to be published shortly by P. Lang, Bern/New York). Introductions in English are: R.W.V. Elliott. *Runes. An Introduction.* 2nd edition, Manchester: University Press, 1963. R.I. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes.* London, 1973.

On religious symbolism in general, one should refer to the work of Mircea Eliade, e.g. his *Images and Symbols. Studies in Religious Symbolism.* (Kansas City: Sheed Andrews and McMeel, 1961), or his *Myth and Reality* (New York/Evanston: Harper and Row, 1963). A useful anthology of Eliade's writings is provided by Wendell C. Beane and William G. Doty: *Myths, Rites, Symbols: A Mircea Eliade Reader* (2 vols.; New York/Evanston: Harper and Row, 1976). For a critical evaluation of Eliade's oeuvre, cf. John A. Salida, *"Homo Religiosus" in Mircea Eliade. An Anthropological Evaluation.* Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1976; Guilford Dudley III, *Religion on Trial. Mircea Eliade and His Critics.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977. Also important in this context are the writings of Joseph Campbell, e.g. *The Mythical Image* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1974), or *Myths to Live by* (New York: The Viking Press, 1972). A valuable survey of approaches to myth is Jan de Vries' *Forschungsgeschichte der Mythologie* (Freiburg/Munich: Karl Alber, 1961), and his shorter *Godsdienstgeschiedenis in vogelrlucht* (Utzecht: Het-Spectrum, 1961), available with an excellent introduction in the English translation of Kees Boole: *Perspectives in the History of Religion* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977).

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tors; prejudices about ancient civilizations have been dismissed, and with a better chronology, the whole picture of ancient Europe is changing, showing the interpenetration among cultures in a better light and making the so-called "migration of traditions" more plausible.

All these developments are the result of the new impulse given in recent decades to research in language and culture, and work in comparative religion has been the first to benefit from it: suffice it to refer to the brilliant analysis of the concepts of *yaoš* in Avestan and *yoh* in Vedic versus Latin *iūs* by Dumézil or the fascinating illustration of the dichotomy of the 'sacred' in Germanic by W. Baetke.(6) Using the old avenues of research traced by Antoine Meillet and Joseph Vendryes, it is definitely possible to find new evidence of the archaic Indo-European religious language as it is preserved in isoglosses of peripheral languages: besides Italo-Celtic and Indo-Aryan correspondences, the Anatolian languages have provided striking lexical parallels to Latin or Germanic religious terms, and the exploitation of the rich Hittite material for such purposes has hardly begun.(7) Now that we have more and more reliable editions of the mythological texts, of the rituals, prayers and incantations, of oath and curse formulas, and what not, and that a collection of etymologies with a rich bibliographical and critical apparatus is already half-way through the lexicon,(8) while a new etymological dictionary by Jaan Puhvel has started appearing (1984), while Annelies Kammenhuber's extensive re-working of J. Friedrich's dictionary is slowly moving on, and Hans Güterbock's dictionary is also steadily coming out,(9) it

(6) See, respectively, G. Dumézil, *Idées romaines* (Paris: NRF/Gallimard, 1969), pp. 31-45, and W. Baetke, *Das Heilige im Germanischen* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1942).

(7) Cf. e.g., E.C. Polomé, "Old Norse Religious Terminology in Indo-European Perspective." In: Karl-Hampus Dahlstedt (ed.), *The Nordic Language and Modern Linguistics* 2 (Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Nordic and General Linguistics – Umea 1973). Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1975, pp. 654-665 [reprinted in: Anwar S. Dil (ed.), *Language, Society, and Paleoculture. Essays by Edgar C. Polome* (Stanford: Stanford Unviversity Press, 1982), pp. 285-295].

(8) Johann Tischler, *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*, vol. 1: A-K. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität, 1983.

(9) The first volume of Jaan Puhvel's *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* (Berlin/New York/Amsterdam: Mouton, 1984) contains two parts: 1) the words beginning with A; 2) the words beginning with E and I. Of the *Hittite Dictionary* of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, edited by Hans G. Güterbock and Harry A. Hoffner (University of Chicago Press, 1980-), only the first two fascicles (start-

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becomes possible to make better use of this abundant source of data, which has perhaps been too easily discarded by some as reflecting only non-Indo-European Middle-Eastern traditions. Preserving their language and their institutions in the Anatolian context, the earlier Hittites did not abandon their ancestral belief right away: the oldest Indo-European text extant, the *Anitta*-text (Neu, 1974), preserved in an original tablet of the XVIIth c. B.C., provides testimony of the prevalence of "our god *Šiuš*" who is no one but the Indo-European god of the luminous sky **dyeus*, developed into a sun-god, a celestial sovereign like Zeus. Besides him appears the "weather god" represented by the Sumerian ideogram ^{d}IŠKUR, which actually reflects the wind-god, but the Hittite god *Tarḫunnaš*, referred to here, is the "victorious" one who slays the dragon just as *Indra* kills *Vṛtra*, though the implications in the later Hittite myth are quite different. In the Anitta-text, this gods helps and protects the king of *Kuššara* and delivers the latter's enemy, the king of *Neša*, to his protégé, like Indra leads the Aryans to victory over the *dāsas*. As a war-god associated with the atmosphere, especially the wind, ^{d}IŠKUR also reminds us of the other representative of the Vedic divine warrior function, *Vāyu*, and one can hardly deny that, in this early text, where the only other god involved is the personalized throne (Hittite *Ḫalmašuitt-*), the religious background is more Indo-European than Middle Eastern, especially when one keeps in mind the importance of the symbolism of the throne in ancient India and of "royal majesty" ($x^{v}arənah$) in the Iranian tradition. Actually when the king of *Purušḫanda* offers his submission with presents (Hitt. *ḫenkur*) to Anitta, what he brings him is his iron *throne* and his iron *scepter* – the emblems of sovereignty in the "metal form the sky" (Sumerian ideogram AN.BAR 'iron,' literally 'sky-metal'; cf. AN.BAR GE_6 'black iron' = 'iron from meteorites' and AN.BAR *nepišaš*) – a traditional name to which Armenian *yerkat*^{h} 'iron' versus *yerkink*^{h} 'sky' also seems to point, as Fowkes (10) recently indicated.

ing with the letter L) have appeared hitherto. The monumental second edition of Johannes Friedrich's *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* by Annelies Kammenhuber has one volume of 639 pages completed, which covers only the letter A!

(10) In an unpublished paper delivered before the International Linguistic Association in New York in 1984 (personal communication).

For the Anitta-text, cf. Erich Neu's edition in *Studien zu den Boğhazköy*-Texten, vol. 18 (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1974), esp. pp. 116-131 about *Šius*. About the

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The Hittite texts texts sometimes preserve traces of old Indo-European traditions in the least expected context: thus, in the Laws, art. 37, the abductor who kills two or three of his pursuers, is branded as a "non-person": UR.BAR.RA *kišat* 'you have become a wolf,' i.e. you have excluded yourself from society – the choice of the wolf reflecting a tradition that is paralleled by the similar use of *vṛkaḥ* in the Rigveda and of *vargr* in Old Norse.(11)

But while etymology can be a help in the interpretation of divine names, it should never be the source of this interpretation: *the text must prevail* – but then, how much does the text help? I discussed elsewhere(12) the various etymologies advanced for the Vedic divine name *Varuṇa*: there are various roots **wer-* that could be advanced, and for each of them, some feature in the attributes of this complex god would be fitting, but is it legitimate to focus on that very feature? When one reads, for example, Gregory Nagy's (1974) substantive contribution to the problem of Lithuanian *Perkūnas* / Slavic *Perunъ*, where he links the thunder-god with the oak-tree (Latin *quercus*) and the rock (Hittite *peru[na]-*), and also brings in ON *fjǫr* 'life,' OE *feorh* 'life, soul' and *firas* 'men,' etc., one wonders whether it is legitimate for him to speculate that 'amidst the mythopoeic traditions of many diverse peoples of the world it is an extremely common theme that Man originated from trees or rocks." The meaning 'life/man' does not appear outside of Germanic, and it is not established whether the original meaning was 'life' or 'living being,' the former being associated with the concepts of 'soul, spirit' (cf. OHG *ferah* [gl].anima); because the Uralic languages show a term with a similar meaning – Vogul *por-* in *sim-por, sam-perk* 'soul,' Ostyak *porak* 'inside' – one might wonder whether Gmc. **ferhwa* < pre-Gmc. **perk*^{w}- is inherited. Anyhow, since the Eddic tradition ascribes the original of man and woman to the shaping and animation by a

Hittite gods involved in this text, cf. also Jean Haudry, *Les Indo-Européens* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985; 2nd ed.), pp. 84-85.

(11) Cf. Haudry, op. cit., p. 59; see also Mary R. Gerstein, "Germanic *Warg*: The Outlaw as Werwolf." In: Gerald Larson et al. (eds.), *Myth in Indo-European Antiquity* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1974), pp. 131-156; Enrico Campanile, "Meaning and Prehistory of Old Irish *Cú Glas*." In: *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, vol. 7 (1979), pp. 225-247.

(12) "Etymology and Function of Vedic Gods." In: *Studi Linguistici e Filologici per Carlo Alberto Mastrelli* (Pisa: Pacini, 1985), pp. 376-380.

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triad of gods of two logs washed ashore, a "dendrogenesis" of humankind seems to be part of the Germanic tradition (cf. Polomé, 1969), but the trees involved are **not** oaks! As for stones, no such tradition exists in the Germanic heritage; moreover, the closest that a reflex of an IE root **perkʷ-* comes to "rock" in Germanic is in the Gothic term for "mountain" *fairguni* which has a few parallels in the West-European Germanic oronymy. Reconstructing a myth on such a shaky etymological basis would be, to say the least, unadvisable. A recent volume on the Indo-Europeans (Haudry, 1985) suggests that the Indo-Europeans had gods of the four elements – fire, water, air, and earth – the latter being, of course, Mother Earth, the spouse of Father Sky. While one can extrapolate the Vedic gods *Agni*, the 'grandson of the waters' (*apām napāt*), and *Vāyu*, the wind, it appears difficult to accept *Vulcanus* and *Neptunus* as Indo-European *-no*-derivations from themes **wl̥kā-* and **nepto-*, meaning respectively 'fire' and 'water,' in order to make them fit this picture. The old etymology linking *Volcānus* to Skt. *ulkā* 'meteor, fire falling from heaven' has had its opponents and its defendants, as the Etruscan connection with *velχai* and other gentilices did; moreover, there is the Cretain Zeus Fελχανος: is it wise to separate him from *Volcanus* to make the latter an Indo-European fire-god – also creating an Etrusco-Cretan *non*-Indo-European deity **welχanos*, as Meid suggests?(13) The case of **nepto-* is somewhat better, but also fraught with problems: the only clear parallel is Avest. *napta-* 'wet' (however, RV *ánaptaḥ* cannot mean 'not wet,' and *-pt-* is irregular instead of *-bdh-*, expected according to Bartholomae's law); the relationship with Etruscan *neϑuns* raises the question as to whether the root **nep-* is Indo-European in Italic (the Indo-Iranian terms are related to **nebh-* 'cloud, sky'), and one wonders whether a local deity of marshes, springs and rivers did not get "indo-europeanized" by its assimilation with Ποσειδῶν. Anyhow, even if the alleged etymologies are correct, does this

(13) In the first part of his study on "Das Suffix *no-* in Götternamen (in: *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, vol. 8 [1957], pp. 72-108), pp. 95-97 (cf. fn. 19 about Cretan velxanos); see further *Indogermanische Forschungen*, vol. 66 (1961), pp. 125-131. On this debated issue, cf. also Alois Walde-J.B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1954; 3rd ed.), pp. 325-326; Manfred Mayrhofer, *A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, vol. 1 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1956), p. 112 (cf. also vol. 3 [1976], p. 651); Kurt Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1960), pp. 129-131; Johannes Knobloch, *"Kurd-Alægon i Volcānus"* (in: *Etimologija* 1972 [Moscow: "Nauka", 1974], pp. 136-137).

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suffice to have those divine names derived from etymons meaning respectively 'fire' and 'water,' projected into Indo-European so as to assume that the concept of the "four elements" was already part of the structuration of the Indo-European pantheon? Speculations of this kind without texts to back them up appear to be rather hazardous.

If we look at the texts we have at our disposal for the pre-Christian religions of Western Europe, other problems arise due to the nature of the sources and their late date: how much of this can we, again, project into the Indo-European heritage? The *Rígsþula* is repeatedly referred to as a testimony of the tripartite hierarchy of Germanic society as postulated by Georges Dumézil,(14) but what are the facts?

1) The text is not part of the *Codex Regius* which contains the whole set of the lays of the Poetic Edda; it appears as a kind of appendix on the last sheet of the *Codex Wormianus* of the Snorri Edda.

2) The versification indicates a younger date of composition.

3) The lists of names for the offspring of each representative of a social level resemble patterns current in the XIIIth century A.D.

4) The language shows several features (form of address, vocabulary, etc.) that situate it in the XIIIth century A.D.

5) Material data point to the same period, e.g. the hairdo of the farmers.

6) The poem ends with speculations on the origin of the Danish dynasty commonly made in the XII-XIIIth centuries, e.g. in Saxo Grammaticus.(15)

(14) "La *Rigsþula* et la structure sociale indo-européenne." In: *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, vol. 154 (1958), pp. 1-9 (English translation in Georges Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen*. Edited and translated by Einar Haugen [Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press 1973], pp. 118-125 [= chap. 8]).

(15) Jan de Vries, *Altnordische Literaturgeschichte. II. Die Literatur von etwa 1150 bis 1300. Die Spätzeit nach 1300.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967; 2nd edition, pp. 123-127.

The missing end of the text, which must have been on an unfortunately lost final sheet, presumably provided details which would have made a closer determination of the date of text possible. One of the disputed issues is the name given to *Heimdall* in the poem: *rigr*. It is generally assumed to be a loanword from Old Irish *ri* 'king' (*rig-*), but some scholars (like A.M. Sturtevant, in *PMLA*, vol. 67 [1952], p. 1159) connect it with ON *rígr* 'stiffness' on account of Loki's scoffing at Heimdall's stiff back in *Lokasenna*, st. 48. However, the Eddic text says *aurgo bake*, which can mean 'wet back' (referring to his standing guard day and night in all kinds of weather) in-

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What does the poet describe?(16) Obviously, the graphic portrayal of the different social types corresponds to local realities, but some details are uncannily reminiscent of Indo-European patterns, e.g. the association of definite colors with the social classes, but a closer look shows that these colors apply to the hair.(17) What the author does is glorify the

stead of standing for *ǫrgo* (dat. sg. of *ǫrþogr*) 'straight, stiff' (H. Gering, *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda. I. Götterlieder* [Halle/Saale: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1927], p. 302). Moreover, as Jan de Vries (*Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* [Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1961], p. 446) points out, *rígr* does not occur in the meaning 'stiff(ness) in Old Norse (either Old Norwegian or Old Icelandic). The entry *rígr* 'stiffness' in C. Cleasby-G. Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. by W. Craigie (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 499, refers to a late XVIIIth c. Icelandic periodical *Felagsrit*. The only term that actually occurs is *rigr* (with a short *-i-*), a *hapax* in a late text, the *Mariu Saga*, where the relevant passage reads: *reglunnar rigr fýsir, at hann flýi* 'she wishes to flee the rigor of the rules (of the convent)' (Johan Fritzner, *Ordbog over Det gamle norske Sprog*, vol. III (Oslo: Tryggve Juul Møller, 1954; reprint of 2nd edition [1896]), p. 109, and *rigr* has a variant *rigur*, which suggests the term was borrowed from Old French *rigour*.

In chapter 17 of the *Ynglingasaga* (Lee M. Hollander, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway by Snorri Sturluson* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964], pp. 6-50), one reads: *Rígr fyrstr var konungr kallaðr á danska tungu* 'Rígr was the first to be called "king" in the Danish tongue [= Scandinavian languages].' Before him the rulers were called *dróttnar*, their spouses *dróttningar*, and the king's men *drótt* – a name also given to the daughter of king Danp (the son of Rígr) and sister of king Dan the Proud (after whom Denmark is named). Obviously, the title *rígr* was something new associated with the establishment of the Danish dynasty – a fact that Saxo Grammaticus confirms when he starts the first book of his *History of the Danes* by calling the founders of the royal house and eponymic heroes of Denmark and Angeln, the brothers *Dan* and *Angul 'non solum conditores gentis nostrae, verum etiam rectores* ['rulers']' (cf. Peter Fisher/Hilda Ellis Davidson, *Saxo Grammaticus: The History of the Danes*, vol. 1 [Cambridge (U.K.): D.S. Brewer/Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1979], p. 14, with the comments in vol. 2 [1980], p. 25).

(16) In conclusion of his analysis, Jan de Vries (*Altnordische Literaturgeschichte* II [1967], p. 127) considers the *Rígsþula* as the work of a Norwegian poet, well-informed about Germanic traditions, but strongly influenced by medieval Christian conceptions and speculations on the Danish background of Norwegian royalty. The king is the crownpiece of the social hierarchy, but with a Christian bias, the XIIIth c. author endeavors to reconcile social inequality with the idea of a Golden Age, when all mankind led the simple life God had meant for Adam and Eve! Even Georges Dumézil now makes allowance for the Christian influence on inherited Germanic conceptions as reflected by the *Rígsþula* in his recent *Apollon sonore* (Paris: NRF/Gallimard, 1982), pp. 218-219, but he tends, perhaps, to overemphasize the influence of the Irish model of royalty and of social hierarchy on the poet's views. Whatever way the poem is interpreted, its author must have been familiar with earlier social situations, because there were no *þraelar* anymore in the XIIIth c. (serfdom was abolished in Norway at the end of the XIIth c.).

(17) Dumézil (*Gods of the Ancient Northmen* [Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973], p. 124), puts much weight on the association of colors with the eponyms of the Germanic social classes: when *Thrall* (the slave-servant) is born, he is "swarthy-skinned" (ON *svartr* 'black'); *Karl* (the yeoman) has a ruddy hue

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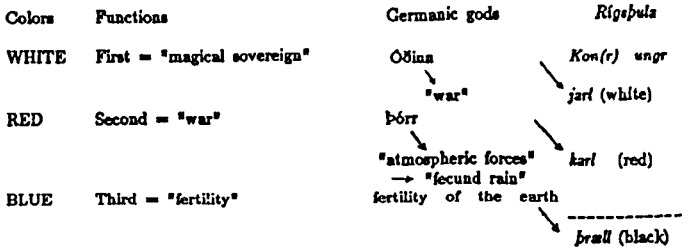
Norwegian royal house in his time, the king being the crown-piece in the social hierarchy. Apparently, the poet was one of those "didactic antiquarians" which the XIIIth century has produced – a man who blended traditions from the Germanic past with speculations on the origin of the three estates. Actually, the text abounds in anachronisms, such as: the Xth

(st. 21: *rauþan ok rjóþan*, literally 'red [of hair]' and 'red [of skin]'), and *Jarl* ('Earl') appears to be bright white, with blond hair (ON *bleikr*, st. 34), as it must have been the case with his son *Kon(r) ungr*. This would correspond rather neatly to the black of the Indian *śùdra*, whereas the red and white of the freeholders and the noblemen reflect the colors of the *kṣatriyas* and the *brahmans*, moving them one step downward in the scale of social functions. This shift can be understood in the framework of the general downshift of the first and second functions in Germanic where the magic sovereign Óðinn also assumes some aspects of the warrior function, and the original warrior-god Þórr has become the protector of the peasants through his control of atmospheric conditions as thunder-god. This can be tabulated as follows:



That red was originally the color of the Germanic warrior is, nevertheless, indicated by a number of clues: the red beard of Þórr, the red shields of the Vikings, the red-tinted hair of certain Germanic warriors, often referred to by classical authors (cf. Tacitus, *Germania*, chapt. 4: *rutilae comae*; Rudolf Much, *Die Germania des Tacitus erläutert* [Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1967; 3rd ed.], p. 103). On the other hand, blue, besides red, is also associated with Þórr, and according to German folklorists, blue (or brown) was the color of the peasants on holidays among the continental Germanic tribes.

Dumézil's argument about the colors is, nevertheless, far from convincing: not only does the assumed shift that makes the *jarl* "white" and the *karl* "red" remain disputable, but the relevant colors appear to refer to the hair rather than to the complexion of the representatives of the three social orders, although in the case of the yeoman, both are mentioned (ON *rauðr* applies to the hair, and *rjóðr* to the skin). In the case of the thrall, *svartan* (st. 7) has given rise to a lot of discussion because there is a gap in the text: since the first two lines of the corresponding stanzas for the *karl* and the *jarl* refer to the way the mother wrapped the new-born boby in swaddling clothes, Hugo Gering (*Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda. I. Götterlieder* [Halle/Saale: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1927], p. 349) assumed that the term might refer to them here (Ernst Koch, *Notationes Norroenae* [Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1923], Nr. 23 [vol. 1, p. 13] even translates *horvi svartan* 'black with dirt,' making the first term a Scandinavian correspondent of southern Germanic **hǫru* 'dirt' [OE *horu*, OHG *horo*, etc.]). As far as the nobleman is concerned, ON *bleikt* (st. 34) refers specifically to the hair and means 'fair, auburn' rather than 'bright white' (the term applies a.o. to a fawn-colored horse, to ashes, to a fish – translating Lat. *pallidus* 'pale').

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century Celtic loan *Rígr* to designate the pagan god Heimdall; the reference to *thralls* when serfdom had been abolished in Norway at the end of the XIIth c. (their *black* hair might actually allude indirectly to the Irish background of the slaves that the Vikings brought to Iceland and Scandinavia). Therefore, although the poet must have had some last prototype of the myth "explaining" the social structure whose memory was well preserved in the tradition, he apparently reshaped it for specific purposes connected with current XIIIth century political events, and it is therefore to be used with caution as a "direct reflex of Indo-European heritage."

Even the classical texts require caution in this regard. Thus, it is usually assumed that the *Germania* of Tacitus provides us with the best information on Germanic culture and usages in the days of the early Roman Empire. Chapter 9 describes the gods: Mercury, who receives human sacrifice, and Mars and Hercules to whom only animals are offered. It is customary, on the basis of the names of the days and of other material, to identify Mercury with *Wodan*, Mars with *Tiu*, and Hercules with *Donar,* indicating that the latter's *interpretatio romana* as Jupiter is due to his association with the thunder, but that, as champion of the gods, he appears to correspond much better to Hercules. Hercules is, moreover, supposed to have visited the Germanic territory (*Germania,* chap. 3) and to be remembered there as "the foremost of all heroes," about whom those who go to combat sing! It deserves further investigation as to why Tacitus focuses on *Hercules* and does not even mention *Jupiter* as *interpretatio romana* of any Germanic god. It has indeed been stated (Tonnelat, 1948: 344) that the only thing *Hercules* and *Donar* have in common is their physical strength, but this is not quite accurate:

a) the Etruscan *Hercules* wielded the thunderbolt, and in Seneca we read: *fortius ipso genitore tuo fulmina mittes*;(18)

b) as *Hercules Victor/Hercules Invictus*, he was extremely popular among Roman soldiers, but his cult became widespread in the western army mainly in the third century AD according to inscriptions from Cologne,

(18) *Hercules Œtaeus*, line 1994 (Albert Grenier, *Les religions étrusque et romaine* [in: *"MANA" – Introduction à l'histoire des religions.* Vol. 2: III; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948], p. 52.

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Bonn, Mayence [one thinks of *Wigiþonar* on the Nordendorf broach];

c) was he connected with the quarries (Bonn, Coblence, region of the Moselle) as *Hercules Saxanus* as a result of his connection with thunder (he is after all Jupiter's son!)?

On the other hand, how much of this had Tacitus in mind when he equated Hercules with a Germanic god? Was this the picture of Hercules he focused on? His reference to the invocation of the god in combat (*Germania*, chapt. 3) would suggest it, but then, the main function of Hercules in Rome was *not* military: he was a god of the merchants, insuring their profits, protecting weights and measures, receiving a tithe as thanks for his help and protection, and this involved a tenth of the booty in case of war as well. Offerings consisted of all that was edible; the leftovers were burned (Latte, 1962: 213-216). Was this the Hercules that Tacitus was familiar with? If he was a god of *profit* (and booty was considered as a [personal] profit!), to whom animals were sacrificed in the morning and in the evening in gratitude for personal benefit – and not a hero whose ἀρετή is illustrated in victorious combat – he is hardly to be identified with the Germanic champion embodied by *Þórr*, the Scandinavian counterpart of Donar, and resembles, in his enjoyment of wealth, the so-called third function god *Freyr*, so that what Tacitus *might* depict here could also be a kind of triad *Óðinn, Týr, Freyr*. This is purely conjectural, but points at least to the complex implications of the *interpretatio romana* and to the dangers of hasty identification.

The study of early texts allows us, however, to get a glimpse of the Indo-European religious language in its more eleborate form, e.g., by retrieving formulaic patterns or typical phrases, and recent work in Indo-European poetry(19) has paved the way to a better understanding of this aspect of archaic religious speech. As Hermann Güntert indicated several decades ago, striking parallels can be found beween the utterances about the

(19) A set of older papers is reprinted in the collection edited by Rüdiger Schmitt: *Indogermanische Dichtersprache* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968). Important studies are: Rüdiger Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967; Enrico Campanile, *Ricerche di Cultura Poetica Indoeuropea*. Pisa: Gardini, 1977; Calvert Watkins, "Aspects of Indo-European Poetics." In: Edgar C. Polomé (ed.), *The Indo-Europeans in the Fourth and Third Millennia*. (Ann Arbor: Karoma, 1982), pp. 104-120.

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earlier aspect of Anatolian, Mycenean or Vedic culture and religion, and the collaboration of archaeology, ethnolinguistics, anthropology and comparative religion will give us a better understanding of the religions of ancient northwestern Europe. pre-creational world in the Veda and in the Germanic tradition (cf. Polomé, 1980). Others have indicated the similarities in the structure of prayers and oath formulas. Several investigations have shown the coexistence of a religious language besides the everyday language since time immemorial: W. Havers and F. Specht have analyzed the occurrence of a "sacralizing" *-w-*suffix which contrasts, e.g., Lat. *dies* and *deus/divus*; in correlation with the *Alvissmal*, Güntert has pointed out that Greek and Indo-Iranian [to which Anatolian can be added] reveal similar contrasts between terms used in the language of the gods and terms belonging to the language of men or other species of beings;(20) the contrast between animate and inanimate reflected by the two terms for "fire" **ŋgnis (Agní/ignis)* and **peH₂wr̥ (paϑϑur/πῦρ)* parallels the opposition between sacred and profane; etc. Thus, even strictly lexico-semantic studies with proper examination of the socio-cultural context are likely to throw more light on prehistoric phrases of Indo-European religion. New texts, a better interpretation of the existing ones on the basis of solid philological work, and a growing knowledge of the civilizations in contact in the eastern Mediterranean and the South Asia subcontinent provide new insights into the earlier aspect of Anatolian, Mycenean or Vedic culture and religion, and the collaboration of archaeology, ethnolinguistics, anthropology and comparative religion will give us a better understanding of the religions of ancient northwestern Europe.

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PRE-INDO-EUROPEAN GODDESSES IN BALTIC MYTHOLOGY

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The Old European stratum in Baltic mythology is surprisingly complete and pure, and uncontaiminated by the Indo-European stratum. Its study can distinguish what is Indo-European and what is Old European in European mythologies as well as shed light on the prehistoric religion of Europe.

Baltic mythology is a gold mine of very ancient mythical images whose roots lie in prehistoric pre-Indo-European gynocentric and matrilinear structure. Although essentially preserved in folklore and recorded during the Christian era, these images retained a distinct identity in the stratum which I call Old European.

The Balts were the last pagans of Europe. It was only in 1387 that Lithuania was officially Christianized. For at least several hundred years thereafter, Christianity failed to penetrate into villages because priests did not know the local languages. The relatively recent Christian layer can be easily detached from the Indo-European stratum. Mythical figures of the latter reflect a patriarchal structure with three dominant male gods: *Dievas,* God of Heavenly Light; *Velinas,* God of Death and the Underworld, and *Perkūnas,* the Thunder-god. The lowermost Old European stratum, consists of goddesses-creatrixes as main mythical persona (discussed below) and reflects a matrilinear structure.

The Indo-European pantheon of gods was introduced to Europe *c.* 3500-2500 B.C. Thereafter in most areas of Europe two very different sets of gods and structures of symbols started to merge. The transformation of Old European images did not occur everywhere at the same time. There was little of this mixture in the Baltic speaking area (Prussia, Lithuania and Latvia; in prehistory this area extended over Belorussia and central Russia). Here, the Old European goddesses preserved their features with little alteration. These goddesses were not militarized, as was, for instance, Athena, when Indo-European warriors replaced her crown with a helmet. Nor were these goddesses forced to marry Indo-European gods.

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In Latvian and Lithuanian mythological songs, *Laima* the goddess of Life and Death (related to Athena and Hera) sometimes appears with *Dievas.* They are two supreme rulers; there is no trace of Laima's subservience to Dievas and no mention of their marriage. This is but one example of an autonomous existence of Old European goddesses throughout the Indo-European and Christian eras.

Some pagan images were degraded, even caricaturized, during Christian times; neither Indo-European nor Old European gods and goddesses have escaped this process. The magical god and goddess of Death or Destruction (Velinas and Ragana) became a devil and a witch. Dievas fused with a Christian god, Saint John, and some aspects of the Life-giving Goddess Laima were given the name of Maria. These transformations can be detected with the help of historical records, linguistic analysis, and archaeological monuments.

The main Old European goddesses of Baltic mythology can be classified into the following categories: (1)

1. *Laima:* Giver-of-All, Goddess of Life and Death. She also is a giver of material goods, an apportioner.

2. *Ragana:* Magician Goddess of Destruction and Regeneration.

3. *Žemyna:* Earth Mother and Goddess of Earth Fertility. Of all the female goddesses, she is the only mother. She is the mother of grain, fields, forests, and of the dead.

4. *Austėja:* the Bee-Goddess, protectress of young life and married women.

1. Laima: Giver-of-All, Goddess of Life and Death

She is Fate, the birth-giver and determiner of the life thread, short or long, good or bad. Her name is synonymous with *laimė* "happiness".

The worship of Laima as a Birth-giving Goddess is attested up to the early 20th century by a ritual in the sauna, called *Pirtižas* in Latvian (from *pirtis* "sauna"). This was presided over by the grandmother of the family. It was a celebration of birth which included an offering to the Goddess, followed by a feast. A hen was sacrificed when the grandmother killed it with a wooden ladle.

Four or five weeks after the birth, another offering and feast was given in which only women participated. Upon seeing the

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young mother approaching, participants exclaimed: "The Bear is coming." This formula may stem from prehistory when it was believed the Birth-giving Goddess assumed the shape of a bear. Artemis, the Birth-giving Goddess of pre-Indo-European origin, was worshipped in ancient Greece by young girls who dressed as bears. The importance of the female bear in cult goes back to the neolithic and upper palaeolithic eras. Originally, she must have been an ancestress, a tribal mother.

The Latvian "Cow Laima," who also acquired the name Mārša, Māra (from Maria) is called "the Mother of Milk," "the Old Shepherdess of Cows." She possesses an inexaustible source of milk in her magic spring (or three springs). She appears in cow stalls at calving time as a black snake, black bug, or as a black or white hen. In opposition to the Indo-European belief that black was the color of evil, black in the Old European belief system was the color of fertility. She is invoked for good pastures and the easy birth of calves. The association with pastures, cows and calves links this archaic aspect of the Goddess with that of the pre-Greek Hera.

Laima's birds were the cuckoo and titmouse; both were omens of spring and good and bad news. In songs the cuckoo sits on a gold throne. The nocturnal owl was a bird representing the death aspect of the Goddess; her appearance was a prophecy of death.

In the aspect of the apportioner, she is called *Laima-Dalia.* Her birds and animals are the duck, goose, crane, swan, and ram. All are symbols of happiness, fertility, and increase. In tales, waterbirds transform into beautiful women, they may marry a poor man or bring prosperity. A divine ram can become a source of ever increasing material goods. The ram and water birds are produced as terracotta figurines to the present just as they were in prehistory. In the first half of the 20th century, ram figurines were still ritually buried in the earth in the spring, apparently a vestige of prehistoric sacrifice. The divinity in the form of a hybrid human female and water bird goes back to upper palaeolithic times. Before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans, she was one of the major goddesses of Old Europe. Her descendant in Greece was Athena and in Rome – Minerva.

Laima can also be a stone, incarnate with the Goddess' powers. Upright stones called *deivés* "goddesses," were mentioned as late as 1836. Offerings of linen materials, usually

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towels, belts, and shirts, were made to the stones.

Laumé, an earth woman (*zemes sieva* in Latvian), was probably originally a maidservant of Laima-Dalia. She comes from water, often has bird's feet, is nude and has long breasts. Laumes appear in groups, not singly. They are supernatural workers; they spin, weave, and wash rapidly. They reward women workers with linens, take care of orphans and forgotten babies. Sexually attractive to and stronger than men, they can tire men easily or kill in response to teasing. Her image and behavior is a memory of a matriarchal world. The image of a nude woman with long dangling breasts and a bird's head is known from the neolithic and upper palaeolithic eras.

Giltiné, "Death," is Laima's sister, the one who stings (Lithuanian *gilti, gelti* "to sting"; *geltonas* "yellow" (color of disease and death). She has a long lolling tongue filled with poison collected from stones. She is tall, but can easily transform herself into an inanimate object. Her appearance in the village is a sign of sudden death. She can be one and she can be three, as the good Fate who frequently appears as a triple goddess.

2. Ragana: The Goddess of Destruction and Regeneration.

The name of the Lithuanian *Ragana* is related to *ragas,* "horn" and "crescent," and to *regèti* "to see" and "to know." She is the Moon Goddess, Goddess of Night and Magic, who causes destruction, but at the same time has regenerative healing powers. As the Slavic Baba Jaga and Greek Hekate, she can be a beautiful woman and a nightmarish creature. She can transform herself into a myriad of animals, primarily a snake, toad or frog, mouse, hedgehog, goat, mare, or pike. She is specifically related to cows and milk. She takes milk from cows by dragging towels through pastures early in the morning. She appears as an ugly woman with cow legs to spread cow disease. She prevents plants from thriving; she may tie the ears of rye into knots and pluck pea blossoms. She even cuts the waxing moon into half lest it grow forever. She is the destructive magician on a cosmic scale, overseer of cyclic life power.

3. Žemyna: The Mother Earth and Goddess of Earth Fertility

She is as sacred as the human mother is sacred. She brings forth blossoms, plants, forests, rivers, stones. In songs and

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prayers she is called "the Bud-Raiser," or "the Blossomer." Prayers are said to Mother Earth in the morning and evening; she is kissed as a human mother. In the spring, she is pregnant and as such must be cared for (one cannot dig holes, strike her, or spit on her). Mother Earth is pure and just; she punishes sinners by devouring them or not accepting into her at death. Oaths were made by swallowing a handful of earth or by placing it on the head. It is known from 16th and 17th century records that she was worshipped by women, and that offerings and rituals were presided over by a priestess (called a "sorceress" by Jesuits). If offerings are not made at the correct time, she may inflict paralysis on family members and animals.

She is the protectress of crops and is earth fertility incarnate. A black suckling pig was offered to her as late as the 17th-18th centuries (similar to rites in ancient Greece where a suckling pig was offered to Demeter). The sacrificed pig was ritually consumed by the family together with the priestess. A portion of the sacrificial pig, together with three times nine pieces of bread, was then taken by the priestess to the storage house. There, the priestess alone prayed to the Goddess. Three and three times (nine) was a magical number used to invoke increase and multiplication.

Flat stones, called *deivės,* "goddesses," were believed to be protectors of crops and animals. As such, they were specially cared for, covered with straw and offerings were made to them, according to 17th century Jesuits. In Rome, flat stones covered with straw were sacred to Ops, the Goddess of Earth Fertility.

At harvest, the spirit of earth fertility appeared in various zoomorphic shapes or as an "Old Woman of the Rye" (*Rugių Boba*). The last sheaf of rye was sometimes made into an anthropomorphic form symbolizing the old crops (the Old Woman). This sheaf and bread was buried in the rye field and covered with earth (a sacrifice to the Grain Mother) or was taken home and kept through the winter.

At the beginning of December a ritual feast called *Sambariai* (from *berti* "to pour," i.e. "to pour grain together") also called "Three Times Nine," took place when new grain was blessed. Nine kinds of grain was poured by women in a heap repreatedly three times. After this, Žemyna was thanked for good crops and libations were made by pouring an offering of three ladles of ale onto the earth.

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The Earth Mother or her double (a daughter who is mentioned in Latvian mythological songs) was also Mother of the Dead, also called "Mother of Sand," "Mother of the Grave," "Mother of the Dead," or "Mother of Shades." In Latvian mythological songs, she "keeps the key to the grave," she greets new arrivals at the gate of the cemetery, sometimes with outstretched arms. She even heats the oven to bake a loaf of honey bread in preparation for a "guest." She is a dancer: she dances upon the grave or rejoices over the arrival of the funeral procession. She is a true queen of the dead. At the close of the 18th century, an offering was made during the funeral feast to Zemyna: three bites of bread and meat and three ladles of ale lest she not be kind t the dead.

4. Austėja: The Bee Goddess

She was the protectress of married women, and promoted growth and increase. She cared for the multiplication of the beehive and the human family. Her name is connected with the verb *austi, austyti,* "to weave," "to turn about." Offerings were made to her in a jumping motion whilst pouring them upward to the ceiling or into the air.

Conclusions

Old European goddesses preserved in Baltic mythology have parallels in pre-Greek and pre-Roman figures. These include Artemis and Diana (Laima, the Birth-giving Goddess), Athena and Minerva (Laima-Dalia, the apportioner), Hera and Juno (Cow Laima, Latvian Märsa), Hekate, the night aspect of Artemis (the moon goddess, magician Ragana), Demeter and Ops (Žemyna in the aspect of Earth Fertility or Grain Mother), and the Minoan Bee-Goddess (Austėja). All these mythical persona were worshipped in the early agricultural era of Europe which began in the seventh millennium B.C. Some features of the goddesses, the birth-giving aspect, transformations into birds and animals, and bird-woman and snake-women hybrids, are as old as the Upper Palaeolithic.

Rituals to the goddesses were presided over by a priestess or grandmother of the family; participation was restricted to women. Ritual feasts for Laima and Žemyna are recorded as late as the 17th, 18th centuries. The birth ritual, dedicated to Laima, continued into the 20th century. These are quite

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eloquent testimonies to a gynocentric religion supervised by women and of a matrilinear structure of society.

Female goddesses had absolute power. They were givers and takers of human, animal and plant life, controllers of the moon cycle, and promoters of earth and family fertility. The Goddess was also an eternal mother, the Mother of the Dead.

Male gods (not mentioned in this article) appear only in the category of earth fertility and vegetation. Žemyna, for instance, had a brother, Žemininkas or Žemėpatis, protector of animals in pastures. Vaižgantas, protector of flax and hemp, may have been a more prominent figure. He was a year god related to Dionysos, worshipped by women, born from earth, tortured as flax is tortured, who died and was resurrected next spring. Male figures also reflect the prehistoric pre-Indo-European structure, in which male gods appear as a vegetation spirit, a spontaneous power of nature.*

* On prehistoric parallels see author's Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe, 6500-3500 B.C. (London, Thames & Hudson, 1982) and forthcoming, Images and Symbols of Old Europe.

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GERMANIC RELIGION AND THE INDO-EUROPEAN HERITAGE

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It is a well-known fact that when one talks about Germanic religion, a basic distinction needs to be made between the Scandinavian system of belief and mythology illustrated by the literature at the end of the Viking Age, and the rather disconnected set of data provided by various sources for earlier times. This does by no means imply that there is a break in continuity in Germanic religious life or that tradition has been brutally interrupted in some way. But by their nature itself the sources make the investigation of the continued tradition difficult: for the pre-Roman period, we have hardly anything but archeological finds – essentially graves – and rock carvings (especially in Bohuslän, Sweden); after the contact with the Romans, written sources provide more material, but Caesar's data are very brief and except for Tactitus, no ancient author supplies more than casual information about Germanic culture and religion. The situation changes in the south with the conversion to Christianity, when numerous details about the religion that is to be eradicated are supplied by hagiographic literature, historians – from Ammianus Marcellinus to Gregory of Tours, Church ordinances (e.g. abjuration formulas, penitentials, etc.), laws and capitularies. None of these, however, provides us either with a coherent picture of the Germanic pantheon, or with basic knowledge about the major Germanic myths – the only exception being, no doubt, chapters 2 and 9 of Tacitus' *Germania*. Accordingly, most of what we know about the great gods and their actions, and about cosmogony and eschatology in Germanic belief rests on documents that date back at most to the Viking Age (IXth-Xth c. A.D.) or were compiled later by medieval humanists like Snorri Sturluson for non-religious purposes. (1)

(1) On sources of Germanic religion, cf., e.g., Helm (1913: 63-119), de Vries (1956: 28-49), Derolez (1959: 33-45), etc.
Not specifically mentioned in this context are the toponymy and the inscriptions,

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Such a situation does not imply that the chances of survival of IE components in the material preserved at such late dates as the XIIIth c. A.D. are limited, but that IE heritage has to be identified with utmost care among elements of divergent origin and more recent origin. It is undeniable, for example, that several components of the complex Indo-European creation myth which Bruce Lincoln(2) has tried to reconstruct, are preserved in the Germanic tradition: *Mannus* in Tacitus corresponds to the Indic ancestor of mankind *Manu-* (Much, 1967: 52), and his sons are the eponymous founders of three major tribal subdivisions of the Germanic world; since it is plausible that those three groupings represent amphictyonies associated with deities of the three functions defined by Georges Dumézil,(3) a case can be made for seeing a parallel in this to the creation of the Indic *varṇas* in the *Puruṣasūkta* (RV X 90.12) – with the reservation, however, that Tacitus' original primal being – *Tuisto* or *Tuisco*, depending on the manuscript tradition – if he is to be equated with the Eddic *Ymir*,(4) plays a

which also provide important clues (cf., e.g., the cult of the *matrones* in the Rhineland in the Roman Empire, de Vries, 1959: 288-97).

(2) 1975; 1981: 69-95. Dr. Lincoln (personal communication) would now consider five different aspects in the creational process: 1) *cosmogony* (creating the world, by sacrificing or dismembering the primordial being); 2) *anthropogony* (creation of the first *man*); 3) *sociogony* (creation of society and establishing the social order); 4) *sitiogony* (creation of food); 5) *regiogony* (creation of kingship).

(3) This is obvious in the case of the *Ingaevones* (*Inguaeones* [Pliny]), who share the worship of the mother-goddess *Nerthus* (Tacitus, *Germania*, chapt. 40) and most probable for the *Herminones*, whose name has been derived from Gmc. **Ermin* (the equivalent of the old Gmc. sky-god **Tîwaz* among the Saxons, identified with *Mars* in his *interpretatio romana*; de Vries, 1957: 14-16; Much, 1967: 54; Polomé, 1984a: 402), but quite disputable for the *Istaevones*, though their name can be linked with Go. *aistan* 'worship' (de Vries, 1956: 486, 1957: 35; Much, 1967: 54-55).

The correlation with the Dumézilian trifunctional pattern was first hinted at by Dumézil (1941: 215). With the identifications proposed by de Vries (1957: 16, 35, 166), it would appear as follows:

1st function: sovereignty = **Wōðanaz* → *Istaevones*
2nd function: war = **Tîwaz* → **Ermin* → *Herminones*
3rd function: fertility = **Nerþuz*/**Ingwaz* → *Ingaevones*

For a divergent trifunctional interpretation, cf. Dumézil, 1973c: 13.

(4) This equivalence is based on etymology only: *Tuisco* which occurs in one group of manuscripts, is connected with OHG *zwisc.* binus (Graff V. 727-8), which appears in the phrase *zuiskero zierida* [Prud. 1] to translate Lat. *gemello diademate*. In Old Saxon, *twisk* is only found in Genesis 125 in the phrase *undor tuisk* 'among each other', outside the prepositional phrase *undartuisc* (e.g. Heliand 591). Gmc. **twiska* only survives as a preposition meaning 'between' in G. *zwischen* (Kluge, 1975: 897), Du *tussen* (de Vries, 1971: 755), etc. In Old English, contrary to Lincoln

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rather different role than the latter's assumed IE correspondent **Yemo-* in Lincoln's scenario:(5) *Tuisto* is not sacrificed and does not seem linked to the formation of the cosmos. However, *Ymir* is killed by a triad of gods and his body serves to constitute the various parts of the cosmos.

Apparently, here, Germanic tradition has maintained rather faithfully the IE pattern for the buildup of heaven and earth and their contents; quite different, however, is the intervention of three deities in the ritual immolation.

But the area in which Indo-European elements have been most specifically recognized in Germanic belief is the domain of the pantheon and the functional role of the great gods. It is Georges Dumézil's lasting merit to have emphasized the striking correspondences between the major deities of the upper two levels in India, Rome and Scandinavia, associating with

I (a) magical sovereignty	Varuṇa	Jupiter	Óðinn
(b) justice and law	Mitra	(Dius Fedius)	Týr
II Physical force and war	Indra	Mars	Þórr

the parallels being less direct, but nonetheless evident in the more complex third function: health, wealth, fertility — the domain of the *Nāsatyas* (or *Aśvins*) in India and of the *Vanir* in the Eddic world, a field which *Quirinus* shares with *Flora, Ops* and other elements in ancient Rome.(6) It is not necessary to

(1981: 84, fn. 154), **twisc* never occurs alone, but only as part of the preposition *be-tweox, -twux, -twix*, etc. The meaning 'twin' occurs, according to Güntert (1923: 325) in Low German (*twäschen* = G *Zwillinge*). *Tuisto* has numerous Gmc. parallels which all point to the connection with 'two,' e.g. OE *twist* in compounds denoting a hinged or branched object, *vz. candeltwist* 'snuffers,' *yltwist* 'birdtrap,' and in place-names prob. denoting 'fork' (Onions, 1966: 952); E *twist* 'cord of threads intertwined' (presumably from the technical language of the Flemish weavers; de Vries, 1971: 757); MDu. *twist* 'quarrel,' etc. Accordingly, a meaning involving the idea of duality is obviously implied, but is it 'twin' or 'hermaphrodite' (cf. Güntert, 1923: 324-38; Much, 1967: 51)? Neither of these actually excludes the link with *Ymir* who can be conceived as 'bisexual' with regard to his progenitive capacity (cf. *Vafþrúðnismál*, st. 33; Polomé, 1985b).

(5) **Manu*, the first priest, immolates his twin brother **Yemo*, the first king, thus performing the first sacrifice. By this ritual act, the world is created and **Manu* fashions its parts as well as the three social classes from his brother's body (Lincoln, 1981: 87).

(6) Dumézil, 1939: 19-33, 127-37; 1941, 1948; 1970a: 148-280, 1973a: 26-79; 1977; etc. For an appreciation of G. Dumézil's contribution to the study of Germanic religion, cf. Polomé, 1954; Haugen, 1967; Strutynski, 1973; Polomé, 1974; Dillmann, 1979; Littleton, 1982: 63-4, 88-9, 107-8, 124-5, 132-3, 135-6, and passim.

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retrace here how many features *Óðinn* shares with *Varuṇa*, down to his physical aspect: a I pointed out elsewhere (Polomé, 1984: 407), "the Varuṇian affinity to warriors and the darker aspects of the personality of the inspired sovereign have only been emphasized...in the Germanic context." The case of *Týr* is more complex, but here is ample documentation of his development from an original sky god – a function still illustrated by the Saxon cosmic pillar *Irminsul* – to a god of battles, giving his faithful followers victory (e.g. as tribal god of the Saxons). It is also typical of the Germanic slant to the warrior function (Dumézil, 1977: 184) that the guard of *Þing*, the representative of the Mitra-aspect of sovereignty, would be identified with Mars in his *interpretatio romana* (de Vries, 1957: 10-14; Polomé, 1984a: 402-5). Probably one of the neatest cases made by Dumézil is related to those two gods and the extent to which they embody the complementary aspects of sovereignty (Dumézil, 1948: 163-77; 1974): in both cases, the mutilation provides the deity with a specific function attribute(7) – Óðinn acquires the gift of clairvoyance by losing an eye; Týr demonstrates his true concern for the commonwealth by sacrificing his right hand.(8) Though the correspondence with their Roman parallels, Horatius Cocles and Mucius Scaevola, is limited to "the absence of an eye and a hand and a concern for the maintenance of sovereignty" (Littleton, 1982: 87),

(7) Dumézil, 1977: 199-200.

A third case of mutilation to acquire a functional attribute might be connected with *Heimdall*. Vǫluspá, st. 27. 1-2, reads: *Veit hon Heimdalar hlióð um fólgit* (Neckel-Kuhn, 1962: 6), which Hollander (1962: 5) translates: 'Where Heimdall's horn is hid, she knows.' As is evident from the discussion of *hljóð* (cf. Gering, 1927: 36; Nordal, 1980: 65-66), the meaning 'horn' is purely interpretative in this context. Presumably the association was already made by Snorri (*Gylfaginning* 15; Young, 1954: 43) when he stated Mímir got his wisdom drinking water from the well under the roots of the cosmic tree Yggdrasil out of the horn *Gjǫll*, assuming it served both for drinking and for blowing (Turville-Petre, 1964: 149). R.C. Boer (1922: 10), who wants to read Vǫluspá 27. 1-2 as follows: *Veit ek Óðins auga folgit*, because "it is most improbable that Heimdall's horn would be hidden at the same place" (in the well under the tree) as Óðinn's eye, comments: "Mit *hljóð* scheint [der Schöpfungsdichter] 'Gehör,' wenn nicht geradezu 'Ohr' zu meinen." Perhaps this is the correct interpretation: since 'hearing' was of vital importance for the watchman of the gods, Heimdall may have surrendered one of his ears to acquire the ability to 'hear the grass growing on the earth and the wool on the sheep, and everything that makes more noise' (Young, 1954: 59), just as Óðinn surrendered one of his eyes for the gift of knowledge (Turville-Petre, 1964: 150).

(8) Cf. Snorri, *Gylfaginning* 15, 25 and 34 (Young, 1954: 43, 53, 56-8). For further comments on these passages, cf. de Vries, 1957: 23-25, 81-4; Polomé, 1974: 62-3; Boyer, 1981: 115-7, 214-5; etc.

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a further analysis by Dumézil (1973b: 267-91) has adequately placed them in a wider IE framework.

Particularly convincing is the structural parallelism established by Dumézil between the events of the Sabine war in ancient Rome and the development of the conflict between the Æsir and the Vanir in Eddic mythology. It provided a most graphic illustration of an aspect of IE 'ideology': the establishment of a proper balance between the conflicting forces in society through the recognition that all social functions are complementary. The essential element of the myth is indeed *not* the primeval war, but the peace that results from it, establishing the social order on which the commonweal depends.(9)

But our purpose here is not to retrace the steps of Georges Dumézil in identifying Indo-European heritage in the Germanic tradition. We would rather like to try and assess how far the data on Germanic religion correlate with whatever we know of Indo-European beliefs and ritual practices in general. Mircea Eliade (1978a: 189-192) has summarized rather conveniently the essential elements of Indo-European religion: the idea of god appears to be connected "with celestial sacrality, that it, with light and 'transcendence' and, by extension, with the idea of sovereignty and with creativity in its immediate meaning: cosmogony and paternity." The sky-god is conceived as the 'Father': **Dyĕus pətēr* (Ved. *Dyauṣ pitā*, Gk. Ζεὺς πατήρ, Lat. *Juppiter*, etc.); he is flanked by a thunder-god, whose name refers either to the din of thunderclaps (e.g., Gmc. **þunaraz*, Celt. *Tanarus/Taranis*) or to the striking of thunderbolts (e.g., Lithuanian *Perkūnas*, Slavic *Perunъ*, associated with rocks [Hitt. *peru(na)-*] and oaks [Lat. *quercus* <

(9) Dumézil, 1947: 249-89; 1949: 126-42; 1970: 66-73; 1973a: 7-10, 24-25; etc. Cf. about the interpretation of the war of the Æsir and *Vanir*, de Vries, 1957: 208-14; Turville-Petre, 1956-62; Ström, 1975: 113-5; Eliade, 1978b: 156; Polomé, 1984b: 21-22. The episode of *Gullveig* (*-Tarpeia*) is interpreted by Gehrts (1969) in a thoroughly divergent direction as a sacrifice of cosmological significance. Since the intervention of *Gullveig* is a pivotal event in the course of the war, her specific function and her impact on the fate of the world and society need to be further investigated (cf. also, in this context, Fischer, 1963). Moreover, the meaning and purport of the struggle of the gods may have to be re-examined in the light of Boyer's illuminating scheme (1981: 198-201): after the gods committed perjury with the master-builder of Ásgarðr, chaos has come back into the world – hence, the war of the Æsir and Vanir, leading to a new equilibrium for an undetermined period of time, the fate of the universe following a symmetric pattern:

Golden Age — War of the *Æsir* and *Vanir* — historical times — *Ragnarǫk* — rebirth of the world.

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*$perk^{w}u$-] sacralized by strokes of lightning; Nagy, 1974). On account of its celestial origin, fire (assumed to be kindled by lightning) is the object of a characteristic cult, illustrated, e.g., by the role of the Vedic god *Agni* in the ritual and by the perpetual fire in the temple of Vesta in Rome (Dumézil, 1970a: 311-26). Furthermore, the sun seems to have had a very important place in the early forms of IE belief, though the fate of solar gods was strongly affected by later developments and contacts with non-Indo-European cultures. Whatever view the Indo-Europeans had of Mother Earth must also have been deeply modified under the influence of the religious ideas of the mainly agricultural civilizations that came under their control, e.g. in Europe (cf. Gimbutas, 1982). Another atmospheric phenomenon, namely the wind, was apparently deified, as the correspondence between Indo-Iranian *Vāyu* and Lithuanian *Vėjópatis* 'lord of the wind' seems to imply.(10)

These cosmic hierophanies presumably represent the oldest layer of IE religion, preceding the elaboration of the Dumézilian tripartite ideology (Polomé, 1982: 165-72). Characteristically, the oldest testimony we have about Germanic religion, namely Caesar's statement (*de bello Gallico* VI 21): *Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt et quorum aperta opibus iuvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam, reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt*, ties in, partly at least, with the early Indo-European tradition and with the data of archaeology. Though the validity of this assertion has been repeatedly questioned(11) on account of its sharp contrast with the data provided by Tacitus, it cannot be denied that there is strong evidence of a solar cult in the Germanic area during the Bronze Age: the large number of rock engravings representing the solar disk and the 13th century B.C. bronze Trundholm chariot shows the sun disk on wheels, pulled by a horse – a prefiguration of *Árvarkr* and *Allsviðr* drawing the 'sun's wain' (Grímnismál, st. 37). As Peter Gelling and Hilda Ellis Davidson (1972: 181) remarked: "In the Bronze Age the moving disk of the sun

(10) Eliade, 1978a: 190. The evidence for Lith. *Vėjópatis* is however limited to its mention in M. Praetorius, *Deliciae Prussiae* (Balys-Biezais, 1965: 447); Lettish has a *Vēja māte* 'mother of the wind,' who appears to be very powerful and to control the weather.

(11) First by Grimm, 1844 (1953: 85), later by Müllenhoff, 1900 (1920: 31-34); cf. for a discussion of these data, Helm (1913: 256-9); de Vries, (1956: 355-61), Derolez (1959: 7-8, 66-7, 116), etc.

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seems to have been an object of worship in a way no longer evident later on, when the interest had shifted to the powers ruling the course of war, the heavens and the fertility of earth and sea." Apparently, this deity was already anthropomorphized as the disk-men in the rock-carvings of Bohuslän seem to suggest (Boyer, 1981: 61), which has given rise to far-reaching speculations (Ohlmarks, 1963: 33-45); some disk-men are brandishing spears or wielding (sometimes hammer-shaped) axes: Hilda Ellis Davidson (1972: 181) points out that "the spear was probably first associated with *Tîwaz*, and the disk as well," but then "the whirling disks of the Migration Period seem to be linked with Odin," and "the swastika, which replaced the disk and must presumably be linked with the turning sun and kindling for fire, was associated with Thor in the late heathen period, and the axe, partially replaced by the hammer, was his weapon." Presumably it is therefore wiser not to proceed to any hasty identification and perhaps to consider the alternative solution (Gelling, 1972: 26) that, at least, those scenes where disk-men occur in groups, represent worshipers of the sun deity carrying its symbol. Anyhow, testimonies of the cultic importance of the sun are still recorded at a later date, e.g., when Tacitus (*Germania*, chap. 45) reports that the *Suiones* pretended to hear the sound and to see the horses and the chariot of the sun emerge from the sea at dawn (*sonum insuper emergentis audiri formasque equorum et radios capitis aspici persuasio adicit*; Much, 1967: 506-7) – or when Procopius (6th c. A.D.) describes the ritual celebration of the return of the sun in Thule (Scandinavia) after the winter solstice (de Vries, 1956: 356). Just as the major gods in later times, the king of the *Amsivarii*, Boiocalus, calls the sun and the other heavenly bodies to witness when he begs the Romans to provide his exiled people with new land (Tacitus, *Annales* XIII.55: *solem suspiciens et cetera sidera vocans quasi coram* [as if fact to face] *interrogabat*; Helm, 1913: 257) – presumably using an invocation formula. In this context, we could also refer to the isolated *Sunna* in the second Merseburger spell, where she is merely part of Frija's retinue (Helm, 1953: 227). In Scandinavian tradition, only the faded figure of *Sól* survives: the daughter of Mundilferi and sister of *Máni* (the moon) according to *Vafþrúðnismál*, stanza 23, and in *Grímnismál*, stanza 39, she is called the bride of the sky (*sá scal fur heiða bruði himins*) –

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perhaps a distant echo of the myth of the wedding of the sun's daughter (de Vries, 1957: 328)? Whether the numerous toponyms in *Sól-* (several of which already appear in the *Landnámabók*) or the name of the day OE *sunnandaeġ*, OS *sunnundag*, OHG *sunnuntag* 'Sunday' reflect the divine name rather than simply the term for 'sun', as Regis Boyer (1981: 42) assumes, remains most disputable. If then we can assume a sun cult for the earliest period of Germanic religion, what about other heavenly bodies? Actually, there is no trace of worship connected with astral deities in Germanic tradition, and if some Eddic tales refer to the transfer of mythological personages to the heavenly vault, the relevant constellations are neither the motivation for the story nor do the myths directly identify them with the observation of the stars (Reuter, 1934: 313-5): a characteristic case in point is the story of Aurvandill's toe, narrated by Snorri Sturluson in the *Skaldskaparmal* (Young, 1954: 105-6). Here, we are told that *Þórr*, bringing back Aurvandill from Jǫtunheimr, threw the latter's broken off frozen toe high up into the sky where it became a star – an action reminiscent of Þórr's casting of Pjazi's eyes into the cloudless sky where they similarly became stars (*Hárbarzljóð*, stanza 19). In neither case do we know which stars are meant,(12) though the creation of the second two is ascribed to Oðinn by Snorri (*Skáldskaparmál*, chap. 1; Young, 1954: 99). As regards *Aurvandill* whose etymology remains disputable (de Vries, 1961a: 20-21), it is obviously connected with some older astral myth as the VIIIth c. OE gloss *ēarendel*. jubar, referring to the radiance of heavenly bodies (Wright, 1968: 1.28[43]) and its further use in Old English in relation with dawn and the morning star suggest.(13)

(12) Reuter's tentative identification of ON *augu þiaza* 'Þjazi's eyes' with *Gemini* (1934: 282-3) is based exclusively on the mention of 'two stars,' which is rather weak evidence though the position of Castor and Pollux, culminating in January in the northern sky, lends some strength to the argument. As for ON *Aurvandils tá*, Reuter (1934: 255-7) makes a case against its interpretation as the morning star on the basis of the limited Old English evidence: he sees a constellation announcing the coming of Spring in it and identifies it either with *Arcturus* or with the Northern Crown (*Corona Borealis*). This is, however, based on Aurvandill's being *Groa's* husband: since the name *Groa* refer to the growth of plants and greening of the earth in spring, her spouse must be an initiator of nature's renewal!

(13) Rudolf Much (in the article: 'Wandalische Götter,' published in 1926 in the *Mitteilungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* 27: 20-41) has made a case for interpreting OE *Earendel* and ON *Aurvandill* as well as the continental Germanic names (Langobardic) *Auriwandalo*, (Frankish) *Orentil*, MHG *Orendel* from a Gmc. compound **auzo-wandiloz* 'beaming Vandal,' placing them into the complex of

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Thus, only the moon comes under consideration as a heavenly body of religious significance besides the sun, as it is further confirmed by the statement of Canute the Great's law defining paganism: *þæt man do weorðige hæðne goðas ond sunnan oððe monan, fry oððe flod, wæter wyllas oððe stanas oooe æniges cynne wudutreowa*...'that one would worship the heathen gods and the sun and the moon, the fire and the flowing stream, the springs and the rocks and any kind of trees.' How much veneration of the moon was there among the Germanic people? We really don't know: everywhere the moon is referred to in a religious context, it is in its function of 'measure of time' – the etymological meaning of Gmc. **mēnon* 'moon' (Onions, 1966: 588; de Vries, 1971: 420) that it appears, determining the date of major ritual events (celebration of religious festivals, performance of sacrifices, convocation of the *Þing*, etc.; de Vries, 1956: 359). As a natural result of reckoning time by the moon, the Germanic people share the belief of many ancient cultures that the waxing moon is auspicious and the waning unfavorable (Tacitus, *Germania*, chapt. 11; Much, 1967: 207-8): this is why Ariovistus refused to fight a decisive battle before the new moon (Caesar, *de bello Gallico* I.50.5; Reuter, 1934: 332-3). Whenever it occurs in the mythology, no specific tradition appears to be connected with the moon: *Mani* is simply *Sól*'s brother (*Vafþrúðnismal*, stanza 23); their father *Mundilferi* is an enigmatic figure, which Gering (1927: 168) interprets him as 'the ferryman of Mundill,' which does not lead us any further (the name *Mundill* only occurs once in the *sækonunga heiti*). Finnur Jónsson (1931: 413) suggests a translation 'who moves according to specific times' (from ON *mund* 'time, moment' + *fara* 'go, fare, travel'), which would again designate the moon – perhaps indicating the priority of the Germanic lunar year over the solar year introduced later in Scandinavia (de Vries, 1957: 327)? Very hypo-

the Germanic worship of the divine twins (cf. also Much, 1967: 481). Ward (1968: 53), discussing Much's views, admits of "a definite link between the name Vandal, the worship of the morning star and the Germanic divine twins," but recognizes that for lack of sufficient evidence "the complex religious and mythical background will probably continue to defy all attempts at reconstruction." Presumably, as de Vries (1957: 137-8) points out, we deal here with two different motifs: the name *Earendel* for a star and the portage of *Aurvandill* by Þórr across *Élivagar*, combined by Snorri in an appendix to his Hrungnir story. Moreover, Snorri's *Aurvandill* must not have anything more in common with the MHG epic figure *Orendel* or Hamlet's father, *Horvendillas*, in Saxo Grammaticus than his name (Turville-Petre, 1964: 78).

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thetical is the identification of *Sinhtgunt* in the second Merseburger spell with the moon by assuming that *Sinht* reflects the shortening of *sin-naht* (Heliand 2146) 'eternal night' and *-gund* is a present participle of *gān* (literally: 'the one moving in the night'; Ström, 1975: 92). Further connections of the assumed moon cult with the so-called 'Externsteine' found in the Teutoburger forest remain too speculative to be taken into account in this context.

It appears, accordingly, that Caesar may have mistaken the prominence of the moon as a determiner of the *tempora festa* and other auspicious periods for a major cultual element in Germanic religion, influenced as he must have been by the then prevailing stereotypes about astral deities among the 'barbarians.' As regards *Vulcanus*, it is fairly obvious that Caesar must similarly have had the ritual use of fire in sacrifice, purification and funeral pyres in mind.(14) The sacrality of the fire in the Germanic world is indeed widely documented by a number of traditions and practices: the hearth symbolizes the spirit of the family forebears; it is only extinguished in the case of death of a leading member of the family and at prescribed times, like the winter solstice, to be rekindled ritually (de Vries, 1956: 360-1). The cathartic function of fire is illustrated particularly by the so-called 'needfire', kindled by rubbing two pieces of wood together and assumed to ward off epidemics among farm animals. The practice must be very old, though its alleged connection with the cult of the divine twins remains doubtful (Ward, 1968: 44); it is illustrated by a carving on one of the stones of the Kivik grave in Skåne (before 1000 B.C.; Ström, 1975: 72). The term designating it, which apears as (OE) *niedfyr* in a Carolingian document and as (OS) *nodfyr* in the *Indiculus superstitionum* (under the heading *de igne de fricato ligno*), must be derived from a no longer attested Gmc. verb meaning 'to rub'; the usage proscribed by king and Church must have been practiced at regular times, e.g. when cattle were put to pasture, in May, on Midsummer's Eve, etc. (Helm, 1953: 211; de Vries, 1956: 361).

(14) About the use of fire in sacrifice, cf. especially Marold, 1978. Particularly significant in this context is the statement of C. Valerius Procillus, who, as a prisoner of Ariovistus, was saved three times from the stake by the lots (Caesar, *de bello Gallico* I, 53).

About incineration, cf. de Vries, 1956: 140-3, 145-6; Much 1967: 96-7, 343-4; Ström, 1975: 66, 77; Voigt, 1976: 179-86; etc.

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An alternate possibility might be to consider *Vulcanus* as an *interpretatio romana* for a smith-god as it is in Celtic (Birkhan, 1970: 138-9). There is however no direct evidence to back this up though the smith plays an important role in Germanic mythological tradition (one thinks of *Vǫlundr* [OHG *Walant, Wielant*] whose legend was known throughout the Germanic world, as the Wayland scene on the Franks runic casket [early VIIIth c.; Elliott, 1963: 98]), the references in the OE poem *Dēor's Lament*, the Eddic *Vǫlundarkviða* and the *Þiðriks Saga* indicate.

All in all, the impression one gets is that Caesar was not so wide of the mark when he made his statement on Germanic belief, provided we admit he did not mean personalized solar, lunar and fire-deities. He was definitely wrong when he negated the existence of any other worship: prehistory reveals the presence of at least two major male deities – a 'sword-god' and a 'spear-god' – beside the axe-wielding sun-god (Gelling, 1972: 136), beside the 'god with the big hands' (Ohlmarks, 1963: 62-78) and the omnipresent mother-goddess. Identification with specific Germanic gods remains perforce speculative: **Tīwaz* is closely associated with the spear, but so is *Óðinn*; for the sword-god one might think of Freyr on account of the story of the wooing of *Gerðr* (*Skírnismál*); in the case of the 'god with raised hands,' a few carvings show an arm without a hand, making identification with the mutilated *Týr* possible. Perhaps it is therefore preferable to recognize with Regis Boyer (58-81) three main themes in Germanic religious thought as it is reflected by the rock-carvings and the other prehistoric material:

a) a solar cosmogony, dominated by the symbols of the solar wheel and the battle-axe, and closely associated with horses and boats as vehicles of the sun;

b) an association with *water* and *magic*, with ritual scenes like the Bohuslän dance with a masked personage strangely reminiscent of the 'sorcerer' at the Trois Frères Cave;

c) a chthonian element, focusing on fertility and characterized by sexual symbolism, the motif of the hierogamy, etc.

In his early synthesis of Germanic religion (1939: 12), Georges Dumézil had noticed that, within his approximation, Caesar had fairly well described the triad that dominates the Germanic

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pantheon: *Óðinn*, the magical sovereign, would be symbolized by *Sól*; *Vulcanus* would refer to *Þórr* with his hammer *Mjǫllnir*, and *Luna*, taking into account the close connection of the moon with fertility (cf. e.g. Eliade, 1963: 163-7), would relate to *Nerthus/Njǫrðr*. Analyzing the Scandinavian rock-carvings further, Regis Boyer (1981: 80-1) points out how the three themes he defined overlap and interlock: thus, the sun can be symbolized by the *stridyxa* or 'battle-axe' and will be associated with the warrior-type gods, in which he includes *Týr, Þórr* and *Baldr* (1981: 112-28), while *Óðinn*, associated with the poet's mead and the well of Mímir, has links with the 'aquatic element' (1981: 136-63), but the 'solar hero' *Vǫlundr* (*Wielant*), the skillful smith endowed with the power of 'binding' through the fire has links with the 'water' through the valkyries with their swanskins and his own kin and ancestry (e.g. the sea-giant *Wade* whose name seems related with OE *wadan* 'wade'; Boyer, 1981: 91), and Vǫlundr's seduction of *Bǫðvild* is paralleled by the wiles of Óðinn in a smith's disguise to win Rinda in Saxo Grammaticus (III. 70-1; Davidson-Fisher, 1980: 1.76-7; 2.57). Nevertheless, Boyer claims his working hypothesis can be reconciled with the statement of Tacitus about the Germanic gods and with Dumézil's IE tripartite ideology in such a way that they would fit the grid(15) (see Chart One). Needless to say, the assumption of a prevailing 'liquid' topicality to **Wōðanaz* is, to say the least, controversial, and without entering into any long debate about the matter in this context, let us merely point out that most of the alleged associations of Oòinn with fluids are of a secondary nature, i.e. he gets involved with them while fulfilling some of his basic functions: this is particularly obvious in the case of the mead of the poets where Óðinn's role consists essentially in recovering it from the giant Suttungr; the primary association of the beverage is indeed with the dwarfs who brew it and then have to surrender it to the giants. It ultimately takes the wily and unscrupulous magical sovereign to make the precious mead available to gods and men.(16) As for the well of wisdom

(15) His own grid (Boyer, 1981: 112) is somewhat different insofar as it contrasts the forces of order (*Týr, Þórr, Baldr* and the 'solar heroes') with those of chaos (*Surtr, Loki, Hǫðr*), whereas he identifies *Þórr* with *Jupiter* (Boyer, 1981: 90) – in a context, however, where he mistakes Caesar's description of the *Celtic* gods (de Bello Gallico VI. 17) for an account of *Germanic* religion!

(16) On this conplex story and its background, cf. esp. de Vries, 1957: 66-73; Turville-Petre, 1964: 35-41.

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CHART I

Boyer's themes:	Solar component	Aquatic component	Chthonic component
Dumézilian functions (with the shift characteristic of the Germanic world):	Law/War	Knowledge/Poetry/ Magic	Fertility
Representatives:	Týr (= Mars) Þórr (= Hercules)	Óðinn (=Mercurius)	Vanir [Njǫrðr, Freyja, Freyr]

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beneath the roots of the cosmic tree Yggdrasill, recent research by Paul C. Bauschatz (1975; 1982, chapt. 1) has confirmed the suggestion of Turville-Petre (1964: 279) that the three wells under the roots of Yggdrasill according to Snorri's description are actually only one "which was basically the well of fate (= *Urðr*'s well), and hence the source of wisdom." As we have noted before, Oðinn's association with it is related to his acquisition of wisdom by forfeiting an important body part – his "eye, hidden in the wondrous well of Mímir" (*Vǫluspa*, stanza 28).

Actually, when confronting the testimony of Caesar with that of Tacitus, two basic facts have to be kept in mind:

a) while Caesar had only limited information at his disposal and had to rely essentially on Celtic assistance to supply it to him, Tacitus had access to more direct sources after a century and half of close contact between the Roman and Germanic worlds;

b) in the period separating the two authors, important changes had taken place in the socio-political and cultural institutions of the Germanic community (Thompson, 1968: 1-71; Krüger, 1976, chaps. VI, VIII-XII).

This may account, for example, for the discrepancy in the description of the role of priests: when Caesar (*de bello Gallico* VI, 21) states: *neque druides habent qui rebus divinis praesint*, it has generally been recognized that he meant that the Germanic world failed to show the organized priestly caste with which he was familiar in Rome as well as in Gaul among the Celts. Earlier testimony only refers to priestesses, endowed with the gift of prophecy, like the elderly women performing the gory sacrifical rites to the gods of war by slaughtering the prisoners taken in battle, as Strabo (VII. 294) describes it for the *Cimbri* at the end of the 2nd century B.C.: "(These priestesses) went to meet the prisoners in the camp with swords in their hands; they adorned them with wreaths and took them to a bronze kettle with a capacity of twenty pails...Climbing a stepladder, they leaned over the kettle and cut the throat of each prisoner that was raised up to them. They used to prophesy from the blood that gushed into the cauldron. Other priestesses slit open the belly of the prisoners and read oracles from the entrails, predicting victory to their own tribesmen..." It is indeed a well-known practice of the Germanic people to

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dedicate all that is captured from the enemy – men and booty – to the deity who gave them victory, and this accounts not only for massacres like the slaughtering of the Romans in the Teutoburger forest but also for the piles of destroyed arms and objects, the awfully mutilated animals in the Danish *mosefynder* (Brønsted, 1979: 462-8), and here again the words of Orosius (VI.16, based on a lost text of Livy) concerning the *Cimbri* and the *Teutons* confirm the antiquity of the usage: "The enemy, who had collected a huge booty, destroyed all that had fallen into their hands in compliance with an unknown and unusual vow: the garments were torn apart and stamped into the mud; gold and silver was thrown into the river; the men's armor was hewn to pieces; the horse's ornament was smashed, and the horses themselves were drowned in the eddies of the river; the men were hanged by the neck in nooses to the trees, so that the victor preserved no booty and the vanquished received no pity!" It stands to reason that such thorough sacrificial procedures must have involved some direct priestly intervention – was it the *sacerdos civitatis* whom Tacitus (*Germania*, chap. 10) mentions casually, or the tribal king officiating as sacrificer, or again the *matres familiae* whose oracular powers were so highly respected (Caesar, *de bello Gallico* I.50)?(17) We cannot determine it on the basis of the evidence available, but the fact is that, by Tacitus' time, though women are highly regarded because *inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant* ('there is indeed something sacred and prophetic in them'), and their advice is respected and their prophecies are heeded (*Germania*, chap. 8; Much, 1967: 167-70), the various priests mentioned in connection with the cult of Nerthus (*Germania*, chap. 40) or of the divine twins (*Germania*, chap. 43; Much, 1967: 479-82; Ward, 1968: 42-5, 102-4) as well as with casting lots, maintaining peace and order in the *þing* assembly and inflicting corporal punishment (*Germania*, chapters 10, 11 and 7, respectively) are all men. This prominence given to the male priesthood may be linked to the shift of emphasis to the martial gods and the warrior ethics in the Germanic world in confronta-

(17) On the disputed problem of 'sacral kingdom' and priestly functions, cf. the discussion in Ström, 1975: 266-75; also de Vries, 1956: 393-406; Derolez, 1959: 202-8. That priests accompanied the Germanic warriors on their campaigns is evident, at least for imperial times, from Tacitus' statement (*Germania*, chap. 7) about punishment in connection with behavior in combat: it is inflicted as it were upon the command of the god whom they believe to be present on the battlefield (Much, 1967: 159-60).

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tion with the Roman Empire – a shift that even the *interpretatio romana* of Tacitus' famous statement (*Germania*, chapt. 9) confirms: *Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis libare fas habent. Herculem et Martem concessis animalibus placant.* Mercurius represents Gmc. **Wōðanaz* whose links with the warrior function need hardly be emphasized: though he does not participate actively in the fight himself, he can determine its outcome by one mighty intervention; he teaches his favorites (e.g. Hadding, Harald Wartooth, etc.) the tactics that will give them victory; he opens the hostilities by throwing his spear into the enemy's camp (*Vǫluspá*, st. 24.1), and so forth.(18) As for Hercules, in this context, he must reflect Gmc. **þunaraz* (OHG *Donar*, OE *Þunor*, ON *Þórr*), usually correlated with Jupiter as thunder-god: what Tacitus meant to stress here (cf. Much, 1967: 1979) is the physical strength, the huge appetite and thirst, the adventurous spirit, the boorish uncouthness and the indomitable valor of the deity, who also shares such attributes with Vedic *Indra* and the other representatives of the Dumézilian second function. *Mars* is Gmc. **Tīwaz*, the direct descendant of the original IE sky-god, who apparently lost the competition for the highest place among the Germanic gods,(19) but remained a very important tribal god, e.g. among the Saxons (de Vries, 1957: 15-8; Polomé, 1984a: 402). The third function, here, is only represented by the puzzling indication: *pars Sueborum et Isidi sacrificat* – a cult to which Tacitus assigns an 'external origin' (*parum comperi nisi quod signum ipsum in modum liburnae docet advectam religionem*; de Vries, 1956: 471-2; Much, 1967: 178-201), and which has often been compared to that of the goddess *Nehalen-*

(18) On *Wōdan/Óðinn* and war, cf. Derolez, 1959: 79-82, 88-94; Turville-Petre, 1964: 50-5; Ström, 1975: 118-21; Dumézil, 1977: 184-95; etc.

(19) In *Historiae* 4.64, Tacitus relates that the *Tencteri* designate *Mars* as their supreme god, and Much (1967: 176, 436-8) still wants to identify the fierce *regnator deus omnium* in the grove of the Semnones (*Germania*, chap. 39) with **Tīwaz*. Actually, though the *Hermunduri* claim they defeated the *Chatti* because they doomed their foes to Mars and Mercurius (Tacitus, *Historiae* 13.57), it appears from the inscriptions that the cult of *Mercurius/*Wōðanaz* was prevailing in the first centuries of our era, in the northern border areas of the Roman Empire at least. On the other hand, the parallelism between the sacred grove of the Semnones and the *Fjǫturlundr* in the second Eddic lay of the Helgi Hundingsbana, as well as the ritual binding of the worshippers make it probable that **Wōðanaz* was the Suebian god venerated in the wooded sanctuary of the Semnones (de Vries, 1957: 32-34; Turville-Petre, 1964: 73-4).

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nia on the island of Walcheren (de Vries, 1957: 315-6).(20) More specifically connected with it are, of course, the *Terra mater Nerthus* of the Ingweonic amphictyony (*Germania*, chap; 40) and the *Alcis*, divine twins of the Naharvals in the east (ibid., chapt. 43). It requires, however, more than a stretch of the imagination to see in all of this, as Ström (1975: 83-91) does, a neatly delineated trifunctional pattern, with

1. the sovereign function, divided into its cosmic-magic aspect with **Wōðanaz/Mercurius*, and its juridical-priestly aspect with **Tīwaz/Mars*;
2. the 'function of physical strength,' with **Þunaraz/Hercules* (*Jupiter* in the names of the day);
3. the 'feeding function,' with the divine twins, paralleled by a fourth 'feminine function,' including *Nerthus* and the homoousian deities like *Nehalennia*.

All that we can deduct from the oldest sources, prior to the Scandinavian mythological texts, is that

1. a triad of gods with a definite martial slant was worshipped by the Germanic tribes, *Thunær, Wôden* and *Saxnôte* in the Saxon abjuration formula (8th c. A.D.) corresponding to the triad of Tacitus (**Þunaraz, *Wōðanaz, *Tīwaz*);
2. *Wōdan/Mercurius* appears to have become the highest god in a wide area at the expense of **Tīwaz*, who still remains a prominent tribal god (e.g. among the Saxons), even partly preserving his original function of sky-god (as shown by the Saxon cosmic pillar *Irminsul*, dedicated to *Irmin* [*=Mars/*Tīwaz*]);
3. the connection of **Tīwaz/Mars* with Germanic law and institutions is documented by the votive inscription dedicated to *Mars Thingsus* by Germanic auxiliaries serving in the Roman army on Hadrian's wall in England (de Vries, 1957: 11-14);
4. **Þunaraz* is venerated both as indefatigable champion (*=Hercules*) and as thunder-god (*=Jupiter*); Tacitus particularly accentuates the heroic features of his character when he states (*Germania*, chap. 3): *Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum forti-*

(20) Much (1965: 180) excludes the identification of Tacitus' Suebian *Isis* with *Nehalennia* because of the location of the latter (see further on *Nehalennia*, Polomé, 1985a), but as Ström (1975: 92-3) points out, the fact that Tacitus seems to consider all the Germanic people beyond the Elbe as Suebians, opens rather wide vistas.

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um ituri in proelia canunt. (21)

5. there are a number of deities associated with the 'third function' – essentially *local* incarnations of a mother goddess, bearing some distant affinities with the Old European goddesses described by Marija Gimbutas (1974, 1982), and various manifestations of the divine twins, definitely inherited from Indo-European (Ward, 1968).

6. there is limited evidence of *Wōdan*'s involvement with magic in the second Merseburger spell and perhaps in early runic inscriptions such as the Nordendorf bow fibula (Krause, 1966: 292-4).

On the other hand, the motivation of the equation of **Wōðanaz* with *Mercurius* remains a problem: it has been argued that perhaps it pointed to an early conception of *Wōdan* as conductor of the souls, flying through the air (Betz, 1957: col. 2498), but perhaps more significant is the set of striking correspondences between the Celtic god *Lug* and *Wōdan* compiled by Jan de Vries (1961b: 54) as both appear as Mercurius in their *interpretatio romana*. Possibly the prevailing spiritual features of their personality (link with poetry, patronage of all crafts and arts) account for this identification (Polomé, 1984a: 407) – especially since, etymologically, **Wōðanaz* means 'the lord of inspired mental activity' (Polomé, 1969: 268-9).

Obviously, if the assumed IE tripartite functional pattern has survived in the Tacitean tradition and in the Migration Age, it shows substantial changes:

1. **Tīwaz* loses his prominent position as alternate representative of the sovereign function, only his name surviving ultimately in the name of day: Tuesday;

2. **Wōðanaz* preserves and strengthens his position as highest god; he is considered as the ancestor of royal dynasties (Chaney, 1970: 7-42); his connection with magic is emphasized, but there is only indirect evidence about his other activities. (22)

(21) In spite of Much (1967: 74-76), there is no valid reason to consider that *Hercules* should indicate another figure than the *Hercules/*Þunaraz* of *Germania*, chapter 9, in this context. Participation of Germanic gods in human events is often reported in later literature (cf. e.g. the involvement of *Þórr* in the early life of *Starkaðr*).

(22) This applies in particular to the relation with the 'dead' and the 'hanged': the references to Woden's birds (ravens, eagle) and beasts (wolf) in Old English poetry (Beowulf, vs. 2448,2939-41; Judith, vs. 204-12; etc., cf. Ström, 1975: 100-101)

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3. *Þunaraz* is only found in his capacity of thunder-god.(23)

4. on the level of the third function, beside the Taciteán *Nerthus* and *Alcis*,

a) there is abundant evidence of the cult of local chthonian deities for the sake of personal health and prosperity and of agrarian fertility with the *Matronae* in the Rhineland (early 2nd century until the middle of the 3rd century A.D.; cf., e.g., de Vries, 1957: 288-97; Derolez, 1959: 150-4);

b) the tradition about the divine twins focuses on dual kingship (cf. Ward, 1968: 50-6);

c) there is some limited evidence of a fertility god *Ingwaz* as eponymous ancestor of a major group of Germanic tribes (Tacitus, *Germania*, chap. 2; Much, 1967: 53-4), in the Old English runic poem (Page, 1973: 83-4) and, indirectly, in Beowulf, where the term *Ingwine* 'friends of Ing' refers to the Danes.

d) all other references to third function deities merely consists of names, e.g. *Phol*, in the second Merseburg spell, identified with *Frō/Freyr* (Ström, 1975: 91); *Erce*, in an Old English charm (Ström, 1948: 176), possibly a borrowing from Celtic (cf. Gaul. *rica* 'furrow'; Schröder, 1951:

never apply directly to any intervention of the deity, though the close association of the raven and wolf with *Oðinn* cannot be denied (cf. de Vries, 1957: 61-3; Turville-Petre, 1964: 56-61). As regards the relationship between the *feralis exercitus* of the Harii (Tacitus, *Germania*, chap. 43.19; Much, 1967: 483-4) and the medieval tradition of the *Mesnie Hellequin* (Ström, 1975: 84), it should be pointed out that the the disguise used by the Harii warriors is characteristic of the *Mannerbünde*, which is why de Vries (1957: 59 fn. 1, 379) prefers to compare their ghoulish army with Oðinn's *Einherjar*. This provides another example of the Germanic 'shift to the second function': the warrior band in attendance of *Herjann* (literally: 'army leader,' akin to Gk. κοιρανος 'commander'; de Vries, 1961a: 223-4) play a role comparable to that of the Maruts accompanying Indra in Vedic India. Thus, *Oðinn* has taken the place of the IE war-god in this context as well. See further on *Wōdan*, Helm, 1953: 251-68; Turville-Petre, 1964: 70-4.

(23) The term *wigi-* in the compound *Wigi-Þonar* on the Nordendorf bow fibula (Krause, 1966: 293) is ambiguous: it has been compared with OE *wīg*, OHG *wīg*, ON *vig* 'combat,' which appears as first component of numerous anthroponyms (beside the Gmc. neuter noun *weigam*, there is an adjective *weigi-*, reflected by ON *vigr* 'fit to fight' ['kampftüchtig'; Seebold, 1970: 545]); it might then parallel ON *Vingþorr*, from a nasalized form of the same root (Gmc. *wig-a-* 'fight,' cf. Lat. *vincere* 'gain victory'; de Vries, 1961a: 666). It can also be interpreted as an imperative compound (cf. on this formation, Carr, 1939: 170-4) and contain the verb *wīgian* (ON *vīgja*, alternating according to Verner's Law with OS *wihian*, OHG *wihen*; de Vries, 1961a: 661) 'consecrate'; it would then apply to his blessing with his hammer, especially a bride (cf. *Þrymskviða*, stanza 30.3, Ström, 1975: 87).

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26-7); *Eostre* (= E. *Easter*), considered as a goddess by Bede and usually connected with Ved. *Uṣaḥ* 'dawn,' Lat. *Aurora*, etc., but explained as a Christian missionary term by Knobloch (1959) and Gutenbrunner (1966); etc.

e) OHG *Frïia* and OE *Frīg* occur only in the name of the day *Friday*, though the late OE poem *De falsis dïïs* refers to her incestuous relations under her Latin name *Venus* (Ström, 1975: 106); since the text postdates close contact with the Scandinavian world, direct influence of the character of *Freyja* may however be suspected.

One could easily argue, at this point, that if the pre-Viking Age tradition seems to reflect the internal structure of the tripartite ideology less graphically than the Scandinavian sources, this is mainly due to:

a) the fragmentary character of the preserved evidence;

b) the lack of explicit mythological material before the Eddic texts.

On the other hand, it is also possible that the socio-cultural changes resulting from the migrations and contact with new environments entailed a different evolution of the pattern in the moving world of the south, while tradition may have been better preserved in the north. It is striking, for example, that there is apparently no trace in the south of the problem of the relation between *Þórr* and *Óðinn* which is abundantly illustrated in the northern tradition – be it through the opposition between their worshippers (*jarls* for *Óðinn* and *karls* for *Þorr*; Dumézil, 1973a: 122-5) or in the actual conflict, e.g. about the fate of *Starkaðr* (Turville-Petre, 1964: 205-11; Dumézil, 1970b: 82-95; 1983: 1-49). As the evidence shows, this was reflected in the cult by the ultimate prevalence of *Þorr* as the major god of the Vikings, somewhat in the way that Indra eclipsed Mitra and Varuṇa.(24) On the other hand, the tradition of the divine twins has been considerably dimmed in Scandinavia: except for the *Haddingjar* whose Dioscuric background Dumézil (1973d: 109-21) has clearly established, the other attempts at finding Dioscuric traits in the Germanic heroic tradition (Ward, 1968: 96-9) have to be treated with caution.(25)

(24) On the worship of *Óðinn*, cf. de Vries, 1957: 48-55; Turville-Petre, 1964: 64-70. On the popularity of *Þórr*, cf. de Vries, 1957: 113-22; Turville-Petre, 1964: 85-98.

(25) As Ward (1968: 79) himself points out: "Germanic heroic poetry presents an extremely knotty problem in this context. Since many of the themes associated

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Even when Eddic sources seem to provide a typical sample of survival of Indo-European heritage, such as, for example, the *Rigsþula* (Dumézil, 1973a: 118-25) it is of vital importance to discuss the relevant document in its proper socio-cultural framework. This is what Regis Boyer (1981: 9) has in mind when he states: "even well-established, brilliant theories like those of Georges Dumézil, based on sensible postulates, do not necessarily find a clear confirmation in the North." While the tripartite ideology is undoubtedly reflected in the Eddic text of the *Rígsþula*, "this poem," Boyer further notes, "is more or less Celtic and only linked with the Scandinavian domain by the introduction prose which identifies *Rígr* (Celtic *Rí*) with Heimdall; the hierarchy it proposes (castes of slaves, free men, and jarls or kings) is not confirmed by contemporary literature." A critical assessment of these views would entail a couple of important methodological points which are relevant to the evaluation of Germanic texts as evidence for the preservation of Indo-European heritage:(26)

1. A careful philological examination of the text should provide specific clues as to its date and background: in the case of the *RigsÞula,* which occurs only in the codex Wormianus of the Snorra Edda, metrical and linguistic considerations indicate a late date of composition (de Vries, 1967: 126). Particularly significant beside the Celtic loan *rīg* are recently introduced terms like *plōgr* (11th-12th c.) instead of *aror* 'plough', *kartr* 'cart' (from Irish *cairt*; occurring first in the Alexander Saga in the middle of the 13th c.), etc. – or – the form of address *er* instead of *þu* which only came in with the Christian knightly culture. The pattern of enumeration of names, e.g. for the offspring of *Thrall* and *Thír* (stanza 12) is very similar to the *nafnaþulur* ('rigmaroles') and *heitatǫl* of the 13th century. Similarly, material data point to a recent data, e.g., the description of the hairdo of the farmer as *skǫr var fyr enni* 'his hair was banged,' alluding to the *brúna-eskurðr* (*Laxdœla Saga*), with the hair combed down and cut straight across the brows.

2. The significance of the text in its time-frame should be

with the Dioscuric tradition – e.g., fraternal piety, liberation – occur frequently in heroic literature, the investigator much guard against the temptation of interpreting each such theme as evidence of a Dioscuric myth."

(26) I summarize here part of a paper that I read in December 1981 at the MLA convention in New York under the title: 'Procedures of Recovery of Indo-European myths and the Dating of Early Indo-European Texts.'

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determined: the final stanza of the *Rígsþula* refers to the eponymous kings of Denmark and links up with a tradition reported by Arngrím Jonsson (1597) according to which *Rígr* married *Dana*, the daughter of *Danpr* and their son *Dan* united Denmark under one rule (Hollander, 1962: 128) – a fact that Saxo Grammaticus fails to record, indicating the coexistence of divergent traditions at the beginning of the 13th century (Ellis-Davidson-Fisher, 1980: 2.25). The poet, a Norwegian, apparently brings up these dynastic speculations to link the Norwegian kingdom with the older Danish royal house, perhaps with reference to *Haraldr inn hárfagri* (de Vries, 1967: 127). As Snorri's work shows, the 13th century was a time when medieval Christian ideas could smoothly blend with Germanic tradition: recent literature (cf. Dumézil, 1982: 205-53) has illustrated the survival of the IE trifunctional scheme in the medieval three estates of the realm. Therefore, though serfdom was abolished in Norway at the end of the 12th century, the 13th century poet of the *Rígsþula*, in an antiquarian effort to extoll royalty as an institution, can safely refer to *Þrælar* and *jarlar*.

That the *Rigsþula* does not continue IE tradition in a straight line is already shown by the problem of the colors associated with the social functions, although Dumézil (1973a: 124-5; 1982: 215-6) goes out of his way to account for them: the colors apply to the physical features (hair, complexion) of the representatives of the three social levels, and the argument to account for the shift that makes the *jarl* 'white' and the *karl* 'red' is rather weak; moreover, ON *bleikt* (stanza 34) means 'fair, auburn' rather than 'bright white' (the term applies a.o. to a fawn-colored horse, to ashes, to a fish – translating Lat. *pallidus* 'pale').(27)

On the other hand, Dumézil (1982: 217-8) is definitely right in rejecting Boyer's alleged Celtic connection: there is no Celtic model for the hierarchy described in the *Rígsþula*; the poem is definitely Germanic and reflects a state of society that existed

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(27) A baby with 'bright white' hair (*bleikt var hár*) would be, to say the least, rather unexpected (Hollander [1962: 125] translates 'flaxen'; Gering [1927: 360], to whom Dumézil refers in footnote [1973a: 124], translates 'flachsgelb, hellblond' and stresses the importance to hair as a criterion of beauty [cf. Much, 1967: 103-4]).

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when adventurous Viking chieftains conquered Celtic lands and brought back slaves to work the land – a situation that is particularly evident in early Iceland where "many Celtic servants followed the Norse colonizers" (Guthmandsson, 1967: 4), though, there, the Norwegian alodial laws and class statutes did not prevail.(28) This society created a new symbiosis between Germanic and Celtic people when such terms as *Ríg* were borrowed. Perhaps Dumézil is right (1982: 218) in suggesting that the poet used this loan also because it reflected a new concept of kingship, which may also account for its substitution for *dróttinn* by Snorri (*Heimskringla*, chapt. 17.(29) He is again a man of his time when he proposes the naive etymology *Kon(r)ungr* 'Kon the young' for ON *konungr* 'king'.

This example illustrates the problems one runs into when looking for Indo-European religious thought under Germanic garb. Much remains to be done: de Vries, Dumézil and others have shown us the way, but perhaps we have now to take a new look at some of their conclusions and reexamine them in the light of a better knowledge of Germanic antiquities, early ethnic contacts and the such.

Postscript:

After discusssing the matter in details with Professor Norbert Wagner of the University of Würzburg, I would rather abandon the idea that there was a Germanic god **Ermin*: the statement of the chronicle of Widukind about the god *Hirmin* corresponding to Mars (and owing its initial *H-* to an assumed etymological link with *Hermes*; cf. Polomé, 1984a: 402) is based on an erroneous interpretation of the name of the cosmic pillar *Irminsul*. As the use of the Germanic adjective **ermena-* in other contexts indicates, it means essentially 'huge, great' and if it applies to **Tīwaz*, it is presumably as an epithet designating him as the 'powerful' one, and its link with the 2nd Dumézilian function (= war) would be enhanced if Hans Kuhn's connection with ON *iara* 'combat' is justified (cf. H. Kuhn, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. IV [Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1978], p. 78).

(28) As Guthmundsson (1967: 7) points out, all freeborn Icelanders enjoyed the same legal rights, but "the highborn families and the class of *goðar* lorded it over the common farmers." The *goði* indeed cumulated the functions of spiritual leader as temple priest and of overlord in temporal matters (Ström, 1975: 273-4).

(29) Cf. Hollander (1964: 20): "Rig...was the first to be called "king" in the Danish tongue . . . Before that they were called *drottnar* . . .";

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INDO-EUROPEAN REFLECTION OF VIRGINITY AND AUTONOMY

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Virginity was expected of both unmarried mortal women and unmarried goddesses in most ancient Indo-European patriarchal societies. This virginity indicated two phenomena: chastity and autonomy. Chastity was a requisite for purposes of inheritance in patrilineal societies. Further, virgins were often depicted as 'storehouses' of energy which was transferable to others. Although some heroines received *renewable* virginity, this gift usually led to renewed *loss* of virginity. *Eternal* virginity was possessed by goddesses as an indicator of their autonomy. Since they were not under the domain of husbands, they often retained significant powers.

This article discusses the significance of virginity in several ancient patriarchal Indo-European cultures: the earliest Greek, Roman, Germanic, Celtic, Indic and Iranian societies of ca. 2000 B.C. to ca. 500 A.D. and beyond. In these societies, female figures were given functions, according to whether they were married or unmarried. We will be exploring the functions of virginity among unmarried goddesses and heroines. Just as human unmarried women, on a mundane level, were presumed to be virgins,(1) likewise, on the celestial level, unmarried goddesses were also represented as virgins. Thus, the Indo-European patriarchal ideology informs both human and goddess.

We shall examine these idealized female figures in several ancient cultures and demonstrate the *twofold* significance of virginity in patriarchal societies.

Virginity can signify two very different, although related, phenomena. First, virginity signifies human female chastity. This need for chastity is linked to patrilinear descent in a patriarchal society. If a man intends to pass on his property to his heirs, he prefers to know who those heirs are, and if the woman with whom he mates also mates with other men, he cannot be certain that her children are of his bloodline. In order to deter-

(1) Although we have no evidence that patriarchs invented female premarital celibacy, they certainly regulated it. In pre-patriarchal societies, one supposes that women made their own decisions about whether or not to be celibate.

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mine that his heirs were indeed his own offspring, therefore, early patriarchal man attempted to control the sexuality of the woman whose children would inherit his property. Thus, if a woman was married, her body "belonged" to her husband.

An unmarried woman often was controlled as well. If she was very young, she was in the guardianship of her father, and he or his designate watched over her virginity. When she was thirteen or so she was given into the guardianship of a husband. In that way, her budding sexuality, again, could be controlled. In some societies a woman might elect to remain unmarried. Thus, in ancient Rome, a woman could become a Vestal Virgin. But, we must note, she was expected to remain a literal virgin in this unmarried state. Loss of virginity (indicating that a woman was making a choice about her sexuality) meant burial alive: severe punishment for a woman attempting to control her own body.

However, virginity in early patriarchal society did indeed afford to some women an opportunity to control their own lives, because if a woman remained a virgin, she was also relatively autonomous. If no husband controlled her, then she had some measure of control over her day-to-day life.

Thus, the second phenomenon which virginity indicates is *autonomy*. Autonomy, I believe, is of great significance in determining the import of virginity among goddesses. Deities such as the Greek Athena and Artemis, the Iranian Anahita, and the Germanic Gefjon, were all *autonomous*. If, in some cultures, their physical virginity was stressed, this was the societies' way of making autonomy acceptable.

Virginity, whether literal (that of mortal women) or figurative (that of goddesses), physiological or theoretical, often charterized a woman in the *youth* of her powers. (In patriarchal societies, and Indo-European societies *were* semi-nomadic patriarchal warrior societies, the virgin state was and has been less important for its male members.) The term 'virgin' was often used to describe a young woman who was not yet married but not necessarily celibate, or who was married but still young and often lovely and full of the energy of youth. Thus, the Greek goddess of love and fertility, Aphrodite, she who embodied unlimited nurturing energy, was depicted in art and literature as being perpetually young. In the *Homeric Hymns,* she is *compared* to a virgin:

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'Aphrodite is like an *unwedded maiden* in height and form.'(2)

Of course, as goddess of love, Aphrodite was only *compared* to a virgin. Likewise, the Germanic giantess-goddess Gefjon, although she bore sons, was designated as a virgin, quite possibly because she revitalized the god Odin in a very direct way: she procured a kingdom for him. By imparting the energy of sovereignty to him, without mating with him,(3) she was manifesting the power, the autonomy, inherent in her virginity.

Thus, the physical state of being a virgin, *virgo intacta,* was often, in folklore and mythology, less important than the concept of being in the youth of one's powers, as evidenced by many so-called virgin goddesses and female heroes. For example, the Indic river goddess, and goddess of wisdom, Sarasvatī, was called 'virgin' (kanyā) only in the sense of "young woman," and, at that, not even autonomous young woman:

'May the daughter of lightning, the maiden (kanyā), possessed of wonderful vitality, Sarasvatī, the *wife of a hero,* make us wise.'(4)

But if, among these female figures, virginity was an idealized state, that is, enjoyed by idealized female figures, nonetheless, it is important to recognize that idealized states often represent goals toward which a particular society strives. Thus, those who made policy in ancient Indo-European societies (again males, since in patriarchal societies it is the males who perform key functions, whether as lawgivers or mythopoet-apologists for the laws being given) probably did present physical virginity, the state of being a *virgo intacta,* as a goal to be sought after by the living unmarried females in their societies. The goal, of course, was that all unmarried women remain celibate, and all married women remain faithful to their husbands; only in that way could the State be certain that property, which was inherited in the paternal line, would go to the true children of its fathers.

The concept of female chastity in view of patrilinear inheritance should be kept in mind, even though throughout this article we will be exploring only 'idealized' female figures:

(2) *Homeric Hymn* V. 81-82.
(3) V. Robbins (1978): IV.
(4) *Rigveda* VI. 49. Further, note the change (re-emergence) in sexuality and functions of the goddess in later Tantric religion. v. for example the *Devī-Māhatmyam* in the *Markaṇḍeya-Purāṇa.*

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goddesses and female heroes. It is that very idealization, again, which manifests the goals of a culture. If virginity is important for a goddess or heroine – that is, for a model for human females to follow – then the significance of virginity is certainly made clear.

And so, in this article, 'virginity' refers to both a physiological state and to an idealized one. In the symbolic state, virginity refers to a woman 'in the youth of her powers.' It is this concept that underlies an important function of woman in a patriarchal society: In male-centered societies, it is the function of its female members to be 'the power behind the throne,' the nurturing ones who stand behind heir successful men. These women support husbands, sons, and other men, fulfilling the roles of mother, sweetheart, nurse, in order that the men may have the energy to carry out the important public functions of society.(5)

Nurturers give of their energy to others. It is for this reason that females, in ancient Indo-European mythologies and perhaps in life as well, were conceived of as storing energy for males. As we examine myth and rite from several Indo-European cultures, we will find that goddesses and female heroes, particularly those in a virgin state, were often literally conceived of as 'storehouses of energy.'(6)

In fact, early cultures had a concrete picture of this 'storing up' of energy; the Iranian goddess Anahita is described as a 'storehouse'.

> 'May I bring to the storehouse (stərəma) (that is, to Anahita) at will, all good life, copiously, and win a growing realm.'(7)

This 'storing up' or 'recharging' of virginal strength is appropriate for Anahita because, even though 'young women who are

(5) Although energy and power may be used synonymously, in the context of the present paper I present energy as *potential* power. Thus, this force, while it is being stored in a virgin, may be designated as 'energy'. After it is *transmitted* (and, in a patriarchal society, again, energy is generally transmitted from the female to the male, since the latter needs it for public activity), it becomes power. Power, thus, in this interpretation, is dynamic energy, energy in motion.

(6) It is likely that in pre-patriarchal Europe and the Near East, an autonomous but non-virginal goddess could also represent a storehouse. Thus, among the Sumerian Inanna's emblems were a storehouse and a bundle. Cf. Jacobsen: 36, 135: Inanna represents the numen of the storehouse.

(7) *Avesta,* Yast V. 130. Cf. the Sumerian goddess Inanna.

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giving birth pray to (her) for an easy delivery'(8) and she makes perfect 'the semen of all men' and 'the uteri of all women,'(9) nonetheless, she 'appears in the body of a beautiful virgin.'(10) One might further consider the Zoroastrian archangel who was perhaps a sublimation of Anahita, Spenta Ārmaitī.(11) She was particularly imbued with the quality of purity, and it was she who gave advice about the role of the spirit.(12) But, in later literature, as Spendarmat, she caused the first human couple to be born.(13) Again, a patriarchal virgin, a virgin both in the sense of autonomy and of chastity, was responsible for human fertility.(14) Armaitī, just as Athena, was the epitomy of patriarchal culture: In Zoroastrian tradition, she was born of the Great God Ahura Mazdāh.(15)

In Ionian Ephesus, in Asia Minor, a many-breasted Anatolian Great Goddess was given the name Artemis by the Greeks who shared the city. Artemis, it is usually agreed, was originally a pre-Greek (that is, pre-patriarchal) goddess who was later assimilated into the Indo-European Greek pantheon. In her worship at Ephesus, she is depicted with a plethora of breasts.(16) This polymastic Artemis may indeed have been a maternal...that is, a non-virginal...deity. But, across the Aegean Sea, in Attic Greece, Artemis (in Rome she was known as Diana) was a virginal huntress. She was a πότνια θερῶν, a 'mistress of (wild) animals,' who roamed through the forests accompanied by her nymphs, also virgins, but she was yet invoked by women at the time of childbirth,(17) and she was frequently associated with Eileithuia, the goddess of childbirth, as Artemis Eileithuia.(18) Therefore, in origin, Artemis may have been a goddess of fertil-

(8) *Avesta,* Yast V. 87.
(9) *Avesta,* Yast V. 1.
(10) Kaininō sūraya, Yast V. 126.
(11) Often translated 'pious thought.' According to Christian Bartholomae: 335-337, Ārmaitī (Armatay) (arəm 'right' + matay) is cognate with Skt. aramatay, 'devotion' (*Rigveda* 7.36.8, 42.3).
(12) *Avesta,* Yasna 31.12: ānus haxs ārmaitis mainyu pərəsaite yaθra maeθa.
(13) *Bundahišn* XV 1-2.
(14) It follows that, if a woman was responsible for human fertility, she was responsible for the *gender* of a child as well. Therefore, if a child was of the 'wrong' gender, that is, a female, it was the mother's fault. Such erroneous thinking endures in many parts of the world even today.
(15) Yasna 44.7: '[Ahura Mazdah], who has created Armaiti.'
(16) Depending upon one's interpretation, she is depicted either as a goddess with a plethora of breasts or as the 'sacred fig tree' ripe with fruit.
(17) *Scholia on Theocritus* 2.66.
(18) v. for example *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* 1596 et al.

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ity and maternity who was desexualized by the patriarchal Greek tribes who assimilated her worship into their own religion and cult practice.

Athena, the patron deity of Athens, was invoked by the Eleans as Μήτηρ, 'mother,' but she too was considered to be a virgin. The Greek historian Pausanias reported that

> 'The women of Elis, as their land had been deprived of men in their prime of life, are said to have prayed to Athena that they might conceive at their first union with their husbands. Their prayer was answered, and they founded a temple of Athena surnamed 'Mother'.'(19)

Athena was so much a patriarchal creation that she was born out of the head of her father, Zeus, instead of from the womb of a woman.(20) The precursor of Athena, however, if the Athena-concept indeed was older than 2000 B.C., might well have been an autonomous but not virginal goddess.(21)

At Rome, the women who perpetuated the sacred fire of the hearth, the Vestals, were virgins, as we noted...upon pain of death by inhumation. Ovid wrote:

> '...nor will it be said that under (Caesar's) leadership any priestess violated her sacred fillets, and none shall be buried alive in the ground...it is thus that an unchaste (Vestal) perishes, because she is put away in the (earth) which she contaminated.'(22)

A Lithuanian folk-tale may explain the Roman predilection for burial of erring Vestals: when the Grand Duke of Lithuania was building the citadel for the capital city of Vilnius, he asked the priests what should be offered in sacrifice to the gods in order to obtain their protection over the citadel. The priests first decided that a mother should offer her first-born *son* under the cornerstone. But the gods apparently refused this sacrifice, and the priests then decided that:

> 'A young beautiful, and innocent maiden must give up her life under the...cornerstone.'(23)

Fortuitously, the gods later determined upon a lesser, non-

(19) Pausanias 5.3.2.

(20) Hesiod, *Theogony* 924.

(21) That Athena was at least pre-Classical is inferred from linear B inscriptions such as *KN V 52.1*, 'a-ta-na po-ti-ni-ja' (Olivier: 31). Her bird and snake epiphanies may connect her to the Neolithic European bird/snake goddess. v. Gimbutas (1974) passim.

(22) Ovid, *Fasti* VI. 455 ff.

(23) Beliajus, ed., *The Evening Song*: 72.

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human sacrifice. But the human sacrifice of a virgin might have been completed in an earlier, more 'pagan' era, and one might still compare the image of a virgin buried under a cornerstone to ensure strength for a citadel, with that of 'erring' Vestals buried alive for their carnal sins. Perhaps both concepts, though diverse in 'morality,' stem from the notion that a buried virgin would impart her energy, and therefore her fertility, to the land. Again, virginity is here viewed as a 'storing up' of fertile energy, this time for the benefit of the entire community. Thus, the 'punishment' of Roman Vestals might have been secondary to an earlier concept that their burial would fertilize and hallow the land.

There were two kinds of virginity, according to ancient myth and folk-lore: *eternal* virginity, such as that enjoyed by Athena, Artemis, Vesta, Anahita, and others; and *renewable* virginity. This latter sort was given to several Indic heroines, in the great classical Indic epic, the *Mahabharata.* In this epic, a young woman, Mādhavī, was given by her father, Yayāti, to a young brahman, so that she might aid the youth in a rather strange demand made of him by his guru: he must obtain eight hundred horses, each the color of the moon, and each distinguished by a black ear.

The brahman, therefore, gave Mādhavī in 'temporary marriage' to three kings in succession; she bore a son to each, recovering her virginity upon the conclusion of each marriage.(24) The brahman received two hundred horses from each king as purchase price for Mādhavī; unfortunately, he still lacked two hundred, and no more such horses existed. Then, the guru accepted Madhavi in temporary marriage, in place of the last two hundred horses, and she bore a son to him as well.

Subsequently, Mādhavī was returned to her father, and he held a *svayamvara* for her: a 'self-choice,' a ceremony in which a maiden chose a husband from among a number of suitors who presented themselves to her. But Mādhavī, again a virgin, chose *vana,* the forest, and an aescetic life. That is, she chose perpetual virginity. We are reminded here of the Greek virgin goddess Artemis, who also inhabited forest areas.

Kuntī, the mother of three heroes in the *Mahābhārata,* the Pāṇḍavas, and Satyavatī, their great-grandmother, also enjoyed the privilege of renewable virginity, as did Draupadī, common

(24) *Mahābharata* V. 114-121, 'Mādhavī, a virgin once again'.

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wife of the Pāṇḍavas. Indeed, Draupadī became a virgin again each time she left one husband and went to another. The renewable features of virginity apparently were elastic, conforming to the exigencies of the roles which the women played, evincing that virginity was quite important to Indic men.

Recovered virginity was a phenomenon apparently enoyed by (mythological) women of other Indo-European cultures as well. The Old Irish heroine Dechtire, sister of Conchobor, king of Ulster, renewed her virginity 'out of shame'. She was pregnant when Conchobor decided to marry her off to Sualdam mac Roich. So great was her shame that she aborted, and then became a virgin again for her wedding night. She went to her new husband as a 'pure' woman, and became pregnant again immediately with the hero Cu Chulainn. Only if she was purified could the texts claim that Sualdam was indeed the father of Cú Chulainn.(25)

The Greek goddess Hera, according to the ancient traveler Pausanias,

> 'bathes every year (in the spring called Canathus, in Nauplia), and regains her maidenhood (παρθένον γίνεσθαι)'.(26)

One might compare this ritual bath to that of Nerthus, the 'mother of the gods' described in the *Germania* by the Roman Tacitus: the goddess was led in ritual procession to her temple.

> 'Then the wagon and the robes, and, if you are willing to believe it, the deity in person, are washed in a sequestered lake; slaves ministrate to her, and then immediately the lake swallows them.'(27)

Likewise, Ovid tells us that the Great Goddess Cybele and her sacred things were washed in the river Almo by

> 'a white-haired priest in a purple robe...(Cybele) herself, seated in a cart, drove in through the Capene Gate...'(28)

The *Scholia on Callimachus* tells us that the women of Argos bathed *Athena's* image in the Inachus river,(29) and there is an inscription from Attica describing the ritual in detail:

> 'Then the Ephebi carried out the image of Pallas (Athe-

(25) *Compert Con Culainn*: 6; cf. Duvau (1888): 13.
(26) Pausanias 2.38.2.
(27) Tacitus, *Germania* 40. On the further significance of Nerthus, v. Polome (1954): 167-200.
(28) Ovid, *Fasti* IV. 337-345.
(29) *Scholia on Callimachus* V.

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na) and laid it down at the White-Crested (the sea-shore at the Athenian harbor of Phaleron), and brought it back again (to the city) with torches and with all decorous behavior.'(30)

The Arcadian Demeter of Thelpousa purified herself in the river Ladon after Poseidon raped her, thus perhaps renewing her selfhood, her autonomy, rather than her virginity.(31) Homer tells us that Aphrodite enjoyed a ritual bath as well, after being freed from the bonds wherein she had been caught with her lover, Ares. Aphrodite went to Paphos, where 'the Graces bathed her and anointed her with immortal oil...'(32) This cleansing was in great likelihood a bath of renewal, so that she could return to her husband, Hephaestus, made chaste – as chaste as a fertility goddess could be – once again.

Renewable virginity must be distinguished from *eternal* virginity in terms of the by-product of autonomy. Although *eternal* virginity brings with it a state of autonomy (no man or god could possess Athena or Artemis; they made their own decisions), renewable virginity, on the other hand, did *not* lead to autonomy. In fact, it led, usually, to renewed *loss* of virginity. It would appear that the renewed virgin might gain momentary autonomy, as one man lost control of her; but this seemed, usually, to be a phase of purification, of preparation for fertilization by a new man. If one may apply a sociological explanation to an idealized phonomenon, renewable virginity indicated a process whereby a goddess or heroine was physically cleansed of her former mate, so that her new mate could be certain that, if she was impregnated, it would be with *his* seed and not with that of his predecessor.

Thus Mādhavī, who enjoyed renewed virginity so many times, did not derive autonomy from the kings' *use* of her virginity. She was given to the four kings in order that she might bear each of them a son.

After each birth, before she passed on to each new husband, she became a virgin again. In this way, each king knew that his offspring really belonged to *him*. Again, Mādhavī gained no autonomy from this elastic virginity: she only became autono-

(30) *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* 2. 4694, 4-10.
(31) Pausanias, 8.25.4-6.
(32) Homer, *Odyssey* VIII. 363 ff.

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mous when she decided to marry the forest after the birth of her last son. Her virginity then became eternal.

Renewable virginity thus was a state granted, in ancient patriarchal Indo-European cultures, by the male members of those cultures, in order to protect patrilineal inheritance.

At times, virginity appears to play such an important role in the mythology and folklore of these patriarchal cultures that a deity such as the Scandinavian giantess Gefjon was described by Snorri as an 'unmarried maiden' even though she mated with a giant. She bore sons who subsequently helped her to procure sufficient land to constitute the god Odin's kingdom:

> Gefjon is 'an unmarried maiden (Old Norse *maer,* pl. *meyjar*), and those who die unmarried serve her.'(33)

Virginity seems to have been more important in some parts of the Celtic world than in others. At the beginning of the fourth branch of the Welsh *Mabinogi,* the warrior king Math is described as keeping his feet *in a virgin's lap* during the intervals between wars. In this way he was able to recharge his batteries, as it were, and regain his energy for each new battle. If the virgin, the human footstool, lost her virginity, she straightaway lost her energizing power; that is, she became depleted.(34) Then the king had to find a new virgin to be his source of energy. Since apparently only a virgin could be a 'storehouse' of potential power, a man needed a virgin to draw upon, in this case through a chaste sort of osmosis, in order to accumulate his own store of energy.

Likewise, among the Gaulish Celts, virginity was important for the storing up of powers. Pomponius Mela, who in the first century A.D. wrote a geographical survey of the inhabited world, in Latin, described the island of Sena in the British Sea. On this island a Gaulish god was worshipped,

> 'whose priestesses (are) sanctified with perpetual virgin-

(33) Snorri, *Gylfaginning* 35.

(34) King Math's virgin was Goewin Daughter of Pebin. She was with Math continually between wars. Then Math's newphew, Gilfaethwy son of Dôn, fell in love with her. He managed to 'seduce her dishonorably'. Math then had to seek another virgin to be his source of energy. His niece Aranrhod was suggested to fill the post, but she could not withstand his testing, by a magic wand, of her virginity. In fact, as she stepped over the rod, she dropped a 'big, fine, yellow-haired boy', and another 'little thing' which Math's other nephew Gwydion hid in a chest. The 'little thing' turned out to be the hero/god Lleu Llaw Gyffes. The story changes track here, and wer are told no more of Math's search for a virgin. v. Ford (1977): 91-109.

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> ity; their number is said to be nine. They are thought to be furnished with extraordinary powers...'(35)

One is reminded of Apollo's virgin loves; he loved the Delphic Sibyl; since she would not allow the god to love her physically he blessed her with immortality – but not eternal youth. One day, she said, extreme old age would cause her to fade away, becoming smaller and smaller, until only her voice remained.(36) Apollo loved the Trojan Cassandra, too; Cassandra had the power to prophesy, but, in return for *her* over-zealous protection of her virginity, her prophecies would never be heeded – to the doom of her family and of her city, among others.(37) Cassandra was the victim of a double bind: since, according to our hypothesis, virginity is equated with power and autonomy, Cassandra could only be powerful if she was a virgin; thus she could not mate with Apollo. However, since she would not mate with him, he reduced her power.

Yet, whatever the punishments, these seeresses did remain chaste – obviously a necessary concomitant of their special powers.(38)

(35) Pomponius Mela, *De Chorographia* III. 6.47-49.

(36) Vergil, *Aeneid* VI. 45-46; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XIV. 103 ff.

(37) Pindar, *Pythia* 11.33; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1202 ff. To these virgins, punished for their chastity, one may compare Hippolytus, follower of Artemis, who angered Aphrodite because he spurned her, that is, spurned physical love.

(38) There are two levels of virginity which bear consideration in a discussion of seeresses: 1) First, a seeress had to be a virgin. Otherwise, she had no autonomy. She would have depleted her energy since she would have transmitted it to her mate. Thus, without autonomy she would have less *power*. (And that her power was dynamic rather than potential is to be inferred from her function.) A seeress apparently needed a store of energy in order to prophesy; she often engendered this energy by frenzied dancing, as did shamans. Only then, filled with energy, sometimes to the point of madness, was the seeress in a proper state for the god to speak through her. Prophecies or oracles are, then, another sort of energy which can be transmitted 'in chaste fashion' to others. (cf. King Math's virgin, above.)

2) Again, although her virginity has a metaphorical function, that of conserving her autonomy, yet it was conceived of in concrete terms as well. The Sibyl and Cassandra had to maintain their virginity in order to retain their energies, but Apollo did not have to acknowledge or accept that autonomy or virginity. Since, in Indo-European society, the ability to prophesy was interpreted as being (male-) god-given, rather than being inherent in the seeress, it was therefore the god Apollo who had the function of giving the prophetic ability. In fact, it was *Apollo's* words that were only being 'interpreted' by the medium, the seeress. So it was Apollo who had the ability to diminish the impact of the prophecy, as he did with Cassandra, or to be responsible for diminishment of the actual *size* of the prophetess (while increasing her age) as he did to the Sibyl, if his gifts were not rewarded with the seeress' sexuality. The seeresses were here the victims of their own functions; they had to be virgins and it naturally followed that Apollo would punish them for it.

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Virginity, I believe, served more than one purpose.(39) On the one hand, it seems to have represented a stage of a process. That is, women or goddesses, in their energy-giving cycle, were at the first stage of that cycle: that of the production and *storing* of energy. Thus the Iranian Anāhita could be referred to as a 'storehouse,' and thus Mādhavī, when her virginity was multiply renewed, became *revitalized,* and then able to revitalize others. Gefjon, too, revitalized Odin by giving him a kingdom. In effect, this revitalization indicated that the 'batteries' of the goddesses were 'recharged,' and that they thus had an infinite abundance of energy to impart to their chosen male receivers.

Another purpose – or result – of virginity in ancient Indo-European societies (and this was probably more a by-product than a conscious or even subconscious product of the function of virginity) was that of *rendering autonomous* the female who was a virgin. In patriarchal, patrilinear societies, it was very important for the patriarchs to keep strict control over the bodies of their women, in particular those of the propertied classes. (Throughout history, the chastity of unpropertied women has been of much less concern to those who control the societies.) It was important to ascertain fatherhood because, as noted earlier, goods and land were inherited through the paternal line. In pre-patriarchal societies, on the other hand, women may well have enjoyed autonomy without being celibate, since inheritance was usually both patrilinear *and* matrilinear, and identity of the father was less significant.

How, one might ask, can virginity render one autonomous? Indeed, if virginity meant a non-married state, then virginity indicated that a woman was not under the yoke of a husband. In the beginning of this article, I quoted a line which compared Aphrodite to an 'unwedded' woman. The Greek word is ἀδμήτη, 'unsubdued, untamed.' To marry a woman was to dominate her. Therefore, if a woman was mature, and if she was thus not subject to her father's domination, she must be married, and subject to her husband's domination. Only thus could

(39) Virginity serves two functions according to whether it is imposed by others (as in patriarchal, patrilineal society for rules of inheritance) or chosen for oneself. The Indic Mādhavī was *allowed* to choose celibacy as a reward for having borne four sons. Cassandra and the Sibyl, on the other hand, were punished for *choosing* virginity, without patriarchal...that is, Apollo's...sanction.

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a man, in a patrilinear inheritance structure, be sure that his heirs were really of his own blood-line. The natural correlate of this state of affairs was that, if a woman was subject to neither the dominance of father, nor that of husband, then she had to remain a *virgin.* Only thus could she be *autonomous* – free, or relatively free, of male domination.

The ancient Indo-Europeans idealized this phenomenon in their mythologies, and the result was that pre-Indo-European goddesses of life and death, such as those who became the Greek Artemis and the Iranian Anāhitā, had their 'fertility' features fade into the theoretical. Although women in childbirth prayed to them, they still remained virgins. Only thus could they retain the autonomy, the power inherent in a Great Goddess. Many goddesses of revitalization were, in Indo-European spheres, virgins, including *Athena,* the Germanic *Valkyries* (if one lost her virginity, she was no longer a Valkyrie), the Iranian *Anahita,* and other goddesses who may originally have had such great powers that they could not be easily married off and made subservient to a male deity.

To be convinced of what can happen when a powerful goddess is wed to a powerful god, we have only to recall the story of the Greek Hera. Pausanias reports that

> 'in the temple of Elean Hera is an image of Zeus, and the image of Hera is seated on a throne with Zeus standing beside her...they are simple works of art.'(40)

This act of seating one deity and causing the other to stand is a phenomenon which may well establish priority: Zeus was the consort of Hera and, at least in ancient Elis, she was probably the more important deity. She may have been a very important pre-Greek goddess, before the arrival of the patriarchal Zeus.(41) By the pre-Classical era, however, she was reduced to a nagging wife, furious and frustrated because of her husband's philanderings. The best Hera could do to 'get even' with Zeus was to punish the young goddesses and heroines whom Zeus seduced or raped – not quite getting to the source of the problem – or to parthenogenically bear Typhoeus and Hephaestus.(42) (Hephaestus, who was ever on the periphery [cuckolded wife of Aphrodite, parthenogenic son of Hera], him-

(40) Pausanias V.17.1.
(41) For an opposing view, v. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* I: 199-201.
(42) Hesiod, *Theogony* 927: *οὐ φιλοτητι μιγεῖσα,* 'not having mingled in love'

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self figures in a sort of parthenogenic/androgenic birth. He attempted to mate with Athena, who repulsed him. His seed fell on her, and she wiped it off with some wool, which she threw on the earth. This fertilized the earth. Thus Hephaestus and Athena virginally created the boy, Erichthoneus, who later became king of Athens.)(43) One might recall, too, how Zeus first initiated his relationship with Hera: he turned himself into a cuckoo and, while she was cuddling it, he changed into his divine remetamorphosized self and raped her.(44) This is perhaps an indicator of the assimilation of the pre-patriarchal society, represented by Hera, with the patriarchal society, represented by Zeus. Trickery and many-wiled-ness seem to have been acceptable in Indo-European heroic society.

Thus far, virgin goddesses from several Indo-European societies have been described, and the catalogue could be a great deal longer. Two Indo-European societies in the same broad geographical area have deliberately been left out of this catalogue. These are the Anatolian Hittite, which borrowed its mythology almost wholesale from its non-Indo-European Mesopotamian neighbors, and the Irish, which seems to fall into a class by itself.

In early Irish literature alone, among the literatures of ancient Indo-European societies, one finds little stress upon virginity, despite Dechtire's abortion and purification. The story of the Irish Queen Medb and King Ailill is particularly anomalous. Medb was the queen of the Irish province of Connacht, wife of King Ailill. One may recall that in his king/queen relationship the rules were changed somewhat. Not only did Medb not live in the shadow of her husband's sovereignty, he was quite overshadowed by her. She was able to live outside the boundaries of Indo-European patriarchal mores, and she had the power to establish rules of behavior for her husband. Says Medb,

> 'I demanded a stange bride-gift such as no woman before me had asked of a man of the men of Ireland,

('not having had intercourse'). Although Homer (*Odyssey* VIII.312) gives Hephaestos *two* parents, presumably Hera and Zeus, his work seems to have been more innovative than Hesiod's. In the same manner, Homer assimilated Aphrodite into the Olympian pantheon by calling her 'daughter of Zeus' (*Odyssey* VIII.308).

(43) Apollodorus, *The Library* III.14.6. Athena reared Erichthoneus, and could thus be considered a 'mother' of Athens.

(44) *Scholia on Theocritus* XV.64.

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that is, a husband without meanness, without jealousy, without fear.'(45)

That she was in origin omnipowerful is demonstrated by the fact that she was sovereign – a queen in her own right, not just consort or 'vice-president': 'best of (her warriors) in battle and fight and combat'(46) – not just a source of energy for fighting *men*; and of course nurturing/fertility figure: 'the noblest and worthiest (of all the daughters of Eochaid Fedlech) in bounty and bestowal of gifts.'(47) Further, she said,

> 'If the man with whom I should be were jealous, neither would it be fitting, for I was never without one lover quickly succeeding another.'(48)

We are left with the anomaly that, in pre-Christian Irish society alone among early Indo-European societies, virginity had so little importance that a female figure could be non-virginal and autonomous.

The clue to this phenomenon lies in the fact that in Ireland, if a woman had the same background and fortune as did her husband, her rights tended to be equal to his. On the epic level, in the 'pillow talk' between Medb and Ailill in the *Táin*, each tried to prove greater individual wealth. This led to her trying to steal a bull which was worth more than that of Ailill and to the ensuing war, the Battle of the Bull of Cooley. On a divine level Medb represented sovereignty as the cup of Cuala; a man could only be king by mating with her. It may well be that inheritance in Ireland was *not* solely patrilineal. In fact, if a woman had a greater fortune than her husband, he was called a *fer fognama*, a 'man of service,' or 'a man without power over a wife.'(49)

(45) *Táin Bó Cuailnge* 26-28.
(46) Ibid., 116.
(47) Ibid., 115-116.
(48) Ibid., 136-137.
(49) Powers: 81 (from the Cāin Lānamna § 4): fer for bantinchur co fognam: 'a man with a woman of property with service'. If a woman had as much property *as* her husband, she was called bē cuitchernsa, 'of equal lordship' (Cāin Lānamna § 5). The laws of inheritance for women were apparently as follows: if there was no male heir, a daughter could inherit both goods and land ('moveables and immovables') from her father (H.3.18, 221a3). Dillon (1936): 133. She could also inherit from her mother, if there were no male siblings (o na biat mic...in dibad uile dona hinghenaib ['when there is no son...the whole estate to the daughters']). (Dillon: 168-9.) But, in both cases, inherited land only belonged to a woman during her lifetime. After that, it reverted back to her clan, her *fine*. (Dillon: 143.) But land could be acquired in other ways, through gift or through service ('land of hand and thigh',

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In order for women to have retained such power, the society must, I believe, have had matri-patrilineal structure, since only thus could a Medb not threaten the whole fabric of society with her lovers. And Medb was by no means the only important female figure of the ancient Irish, although she may have been one of the more interesting ones. Although ancient Ireland was a male warrior-centered society, it was a *female, Scathach,* who was the great hero Cu Chulainn's tutor in the art of becoming a warrior,(50) just as it was the goddess *Flaith,* 'sovereignty,' who introduced men into the kingship.(51) Not only were female figures integrated into the very fabric of Irish society; it was their *brothers* who were often responsible for the upbringing of their children (for example, it was King Conchobor who was in charge of his nephew, the warrior Cú Chulainn),(52) and where the maternal avunculate is important, matrilineal inheritance of goods is a concomitant. Only in a matrilineal society could a woman safely be both *married* and *autonomous*...or, on the other hand, *unmarried* and *unvirginal.* Had this state of affairs presented a threat to the ancient Irish, it would not have been allowed to endure, even on an epic level.

In sum, the linkage of autonomy with virginity was most important in societies which were not only patriarchal and warrior-centered but patrilineal as well. In these societies, *eternal* virginity represented an ingathering and in-holding of energy. This autonomy could be enjoyed only by virgin women in patrilineal cultures, whereas in pre-patriarchal, patri/matrilineal cultures, it was most likely granted to virgins and non-virgins alike. Thus, in ancient Ireland, which seems to have allowed patri/matrilineal inheritance, there was latitude for females, or at least for goddesses and female heroes.

I n-orba cruid no sliasta). (Dillon: 151-2.) Thus, Irish women had the *potential* of being economically viable.

(50) v. the *Tochmarc Emire,* passim.

(51) v. *'Baile in Scail'*; text in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* XX: 220, 'Echtra Mac Echdach Mugmedóin' from the *Book of Leinster.*

(52) *Compert Con Culainn:* 7.

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SOME REMARKS ABOUT THE GREEK GOD HERMES

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IE comparativism as applied to Greek data has often been restricted to the sole occurrences of IE trifunctional structures. But it appears that IE tripartition is somewhat marginal in Greek thought. Therefore here we examine another kind of comparison between IE ideology and Greek data: concerning IE ideas about sovereignty. A comparison between the Greek god Hermes and the IE figures of auxiliaries of sovereignty (not excluding other figures such as the Scandinavian Loki) is attempted.

There is no need to emphasize the influence of the concept of functional tripartition, as defined in its principles by Georges Dumézil on the interpretation of Indo-European culture and mythology. It is quite appropriate Dumézil should have entitled his synthesis of Indo-European mythology (1958) *L'idéologie tripartie des Indo-européens,* and that C. Scott Littleton devoted much of his *New Comparative Mythology* to this particular topic.(1)

There is no doubt that such a conception of the pantheon, of Indo-European society, or even the concept of the universe is an essential characteristic of IE thought. But if one is not careful, the justified interest one devotes to this particular aspect may lead to a reductive conception of IE ideology. As Dumézil himself rightly pointed out: "Tri-functional ideology, even if it is most essential, even capital, is far from representing the whole IE legacy which comparative analysis can recognize or reconstitute".(2)

This reminder seems particularly appropriate as far as Greek studies are concerned. Dumézil himself found several applications of tripartite ideology among the Hellenes. One only has to remember his admirable study on the trial of Paris. His followers have notably expanded on his work, and a balance-sheet of trifunctional research in Greece, such as the one Bernard Sergent compiled in 1979,(4) appears today far from insignif-

(1) See G. Dumézil, 1958a, C.S. Littleton, 1966.

(2) See G. Dumézil, 1958a, p. 63.

(3) See most recently G. Dumézil, 1968, pp. 580-586. This example is especially significant as it is a Greek creation, using three goddesses that do not usually act as part of a trifunctional system.

(4) See B. Sergent, 1979. In this article details of data and bibliography are to be found.

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icant. An impressive amount of Greek data may be explained from this principle.

However, such interpretation remains somewhat disappointing. One gets the impression that one is confronted by an extensive quantity of data — which is certainly bound to increase in the future — which still fails to get the heart of Greek thought, expecially Greek religious thought. Trifunctional systems do exist, in great number, but seem to affect only secondary aspects. One cannot assert that in normal Hellenic consciousness the great figures of the Pantheon can be organized according to the three functions, nor that the myths are themselves trifunctional, nor that Greek society was built around this structure. Even the discovery of new applications of IE tripartition, useful though these are, stands little chance of changing that situation. As soon as the most central aspects are approached, specifically those for which, by comparison with other sectors of the IE world, the presence of a trifunctional structure would be expected, one comes up against an irritating problem. We can indeed, as a mere hypothesis, summon the three functions where they seem likely to appear; in the organization of the gods' system, in that of human society, in cosmology, in a given mythological theme that recalls data which are known elsewhere. There are often even elements which seem to justify such an approach. But as a general rule no trifunctional structure was consciously felt any longer, and one may, at best, trace a possibly partial survival of an extinct system — with the obvious risk of being accused of forcing facts in attempting such a hypothetical reconstruction.

Let us take a few examples. The structure of the ideal city, as conceived by Plato, is clearly trifunctional;(5) but it remains difficult to prove that Greek society was organized, like the Indian or the Iranian ones, on the pattern of the three functions. The attempts made in that direction in respect of Mycenean society remain very hypothetical.(6) Even the data (although undeniably more reliable) about the four Ionian tribes are still the subject of considerable debate about the meaning of their names and about the need to explain the appearance of

(5) Such a remark was made in G. Dumézil, 1941, pp. 257-258. See also B. Sergent, 1979, pp. 1173-1176, 1980, D. Pralon, 1981.

(6) See M. Lejeune, 1960, 1965, p. 3, A. Yoshida, 1964, pp. 26-35. But see B. Sergent, 1979, 1979, pp. 1156-1157.

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the fourth element.(7)

In such an important epic narrative as the *Iliad,* we note that the whole Trojan war is born of Paris' choice, which is clearly trifunctional – an unfortunate choice, which consisted in prefering the third function to the other two. One would reasonably expect the victory of the Greeks over the Trojans to be analysed as that of the first and second function heroes over foes of the third. But such a pattern seems no longer clearly perceptible, and we do not think that an analysis like that propounded by C. Scott Littleton can be considerated as consciously discerned by the milieu from which the poem emerged.(8)

If we take an example of a purely mythical narrative, we may call to mind the case of the Greek war god Ares. One would expect to find in his legend a similar pattern to that attested for his Indian counterpart, Indra – the well-known theme of the three sins of the warrior(9) whose existence in Greece seems to be proved by the legend of Herakles.(10) In this case the procedure adopted by Udo Strutynsky seems perfectly legitimate.(11) But it is obvious that the demonstration cannot be certain: a sequence of the three functional sins consciously established as such is not attested anywhere in the texts; that is not, of course, to say that it never existed: but it can scarcely be anything more than an hypothesis.

It is also quite right to think that trifunctional ideas informed IE cosmological myths. Jean Varenne claimed to see such a structure in Indian cosmological myths(12) and, in a somewhat different but related myth, J.-P. Vernant has shown that in Greece Hesiod's myth of races followed the trifunctional pattern.(13) But if one looks into the narratives among the Hel-

(7) About tribal names, G. Dumézil, 1941, pp. 252-253, 1958a, p. 16, F. Vian, 1952, p. 257, 1963, p. 240, J.-P. Vernant, 1962, p. 39, n. 1, E. Benveniste, 1969, I, p.p. 289-291, R. Bodeus, 1972, B. Sergent, 1979, p. 1171. The presence of a fourth functional class (that of craftsmen) may be inserted in a series of parallel facts concerning other IE societies (see G. Dumézil, 1958b).

(8) The analysis proposed by C.S. Littleton, 1970c, reveals, moreover, several internal difficulties. See B. Sergent, 1979, p. 1158.

(9) See G. Dumézil, 1969, pp. 63-77.

(10) See G. Dumézil, 1969, pp. 89-96. The objections of N. Loraux, 1982, do not seem to be conclusive from a diachronical point of view (even if, of course, Heracles is no longer for the Greeks, when we know him, simply a warrior).

(11) See U. Strutzynski, 1980.

(12) See J. Varenne, 1982; also J. Haudry, 1981, p. 36 (who adds Iranian data). But see also C. Grottanelli, 1980, and the critical remarks of E.C. Polomé, 1983.

(13) See J.-P. Vernant, 1960 (= 1965, I, pp. 19-47).

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lenes which really tell us of the ordering of the world we live in, and especially Hesiod's *Theogony,* it is clear that the trifunctional system is no longer explicit. We have proposed the possibility of such a scheme in the sequence Titanomachy/fighting against Typhoeus/Prometheus' episode, which can be reconstructed through the Hesiodic poems.(14) But it is certain that such a structure is not presented as such, and has to be built up as hypothesis.

Lastly, if there is an area in which tripartition should apply, it is that of organization of divine society. It is well-known that the Roman pre-capitoline triad had a prominent part in the elaboration of the trifunctional theory by Dumézil,(15) and in Greece numerous examples can be found of the local grouping of gods according to the three functions. F. Vian noticed the existence of such a structure in the case of Theban cults and the Orchomenian Kharites,(16) Bernard Sergent noted it in the case of the Spartian *Amboulioi* gods (Zeus, Athena, Dioscurs).(17) It also seems that this kind of analysis of the divine world was especially well-received at Delphi: that being the conclusion of several works by A. Yoshida, Udo Strutynski and Bernard Sergent.(18) However, if we consider such a basic reference as Hesiod's *Theogony,* which tells us about the social organization of the gods who are now presiding over the destinies of the universe, we have a structure of three gods Zeus/Poseidon/Hades, which is not explained by a division of functions — only a spatial one. Here, too, a trifunctional background can be suggested.(19) Zeus' characterization as embodying the first function does not pose a problem, any more than that of the chthonian Hades as a representative of the third function. As for Poseidon, he has clear links with horses and war, and sometimes appears in trifunctional patterns as a representative of the second function.(20) But it is once again sure

(14) See our article to be published in *Ogam.* For a parallel hypothesis about the struggles between Zeus and Atlas, Menoitios, Prometheus and Epimetheus, D. Briquel, 1983.

(15) It is sufficient to quote the various essays of G. Dumezil published under the title, *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus* between 1941 and 1948 (I, 1941, II, 1944, III, 1945, IV, 1948). See C.S. Littleton, 1966, pp. 66-78.

(16) In F. Vian, 1963, pp. 143-147, 151, and 1960, p. 218.

(17) See B. Sergent, 1979, p. 1165 (and for other data elsewhere, pp. 1166-1168).

(18) See respectiviely A. Yoshida, 1966, U. Strutzynski, 1970, B. Sergent, 1979, pp. 1166-1168.

(19) See D. Briquel, 1980, p. 266, n. 77.

(20) See J. Orgogozo, 1949, p. 24, n. 3, pp. 25-28, G. Dumézil, 1953, p. 28, n. 10.

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that such a grouping of gods was not considered by Hesiod, nor probably by his contemporaries, as an instance of trifunctional ideology. At the very most it is a survival.

This rapid survey which has no claim to be exhaustive is nevertheless sufficient to raise the question of the importance of the strictly trifunctional ideology for an appreciation of IE legacy in Greece. Examples of tripartition are quite clear and numerous, but they remain minor and the main points of Greek religious thinking or mythology, at least as we can tell from our sources do not seem to be among them.

Because of this rather negative statement about the importance of the three functions in Greece, it seems highly dangerous to draw inferences about its importance to IE ideology as the whole. Yet this is a mistake which those who have studied the question have not always avoided. Too often, even amongst specialist IE comparativists, one finds a sort of total assimilation – entirely unjustified – of the whole IE legacy to trifunctional thinking. This leads to consider as necessarily non-IE (and therefore owed to a pre-Hellenic, Mediterranean legacy, or to some oriental influences) anything that does not belong to the strictly trifunctional system, at the risk of depriving the study of Greek religion or mythology of other ways of access, possibly more suited to the Hellenic sector, that IE comparativism is able to offer.

If trifunctional analysis proves inadequate for the full analysis of Greek culture, it would be a mistake to overlook the relevance of other data which IE comparativism can supply, for clearly such data may sometimes be very useful in exploring Hellenic facts. Bernard Sergent, who was especially interested in searching for the remains of trifunctional ideology in Greece, was also able to discover other kinds of IE legacy in the Greek mythological material. In his study of the Spartan kings, he has recognized, in the contrasted story of the dynasties of the Agiads and Eurypontids,(21) a structure which goes back to IE ideology: the contrast, within the conception of sovereignty between, two complementary aspects – the *varunian* and the *mitrian* – a contrast which Dumézil's research had identified as early as 1940, when his analysis of trifunctional system was at an embryonic stage.(22)

(21) See B. Sergent, 1976.

(22) See G. Dumézil, 1940. In the history of G. Dumézil's thought, tripartition appears first applied to the Indo-Iranian area (1930); it appears extended out of this

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Here is an aspect of IE ideology – the distinction between two aspects of sovereignty – not directly linked with tripartition, which can shed light on some aspects of Greek thought. But, for Greek mythology, for the ideas the Greeks had about their gods, the concept of sovereignty was certainly most important. Their supreme god, Zeus, was a sovereign-god and one of the most important myths is clearly that which explains how he established his power to the detriment of an older sovereign, his father Cronos: it was told by Hesiod in his *Theogony* (23) as well as (in a somewhat different form) by Aeschylus in his *Prometheus.* No doubt many authors choose to see the origin of Zeus' figure (and especially of the Hesiodic myth) in some other light, without calling upon the help of IE ideology, explaining everything with Aegean data or by oriental influences.(24) Yet it seems legitimate to apply IE patterns to the study of a god like Zeus whose name is clearly IE, such as the pattern of the binding sovereign: this method was used, rather successfully – and without any prospect of comparativism – by J.-P. Vernant.(25) We also believe it is possible to discover some trace of IE patterns in the seizure of power by Zeus from Cronos, as well as in his contention with Prometheus, by comparing these with the Germanic *Twilight of Gods,* and above all the Indian epic *Mahābhārata,* according to the analysis of Stig Wikander and Georges Dumézil.(26) So it is possible to assert that IE ideology is useful for the understanding of these narratives, in which traces of trifunctional ideology are

area only later (G. Dumézil, 1938) and will be systematically developed in the *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus* series (see above n. 15). On these questions, C.S. Littleton, 1966, pp. 49-53, 57-98.

(23) On the value of differences between Hesiod's narrative and the short outline given in Pseudo-Apollodoros' *Bibliotheca,* see M. Détienne, J.-P. Vernant, 1974, p. 66. It is especially important that Ouranos was not originally a sovereign-god; so the old connection between Ouranos and Varuṇa (which G. Dumézil had assumed in his essay of 1934, but later rejected), indeed linguisticaly ill-founded, is definitely dismissed.

(24) See e.g. E.O. Forrer, *Mélanges F. Cumont,* Bruxelles, 1936, pp. 687-713, H.G. Güterbrock, *AJA,* 52, 1948, pp. 123-134, J. Duchemin, *L'information littéraire,* 1952, pp. 146-151, *Prométhée,* Paris, 1974, pp. 33-46, *RHR,* 197, 1980, pp. 27-44, *Actes du colloque de Chantilly,* 1976 (Paris, 1978), pp. 39-56, M.L. West, *Hesiod, Theogony,* Oxford, 1966, pp. 18-31, P. Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East,* Cardiff, 1966, pp. 1-54.

(25) It was done with success by J.-P. Vernant, 1971 (= M. Détienne, J.-P. Vernant, 1974, pp. 61-103).

(26) See D. Briquel, 1978, 1980. For Indian and Germanic data, see G. Dumézil, 1968, pp. 31-247.

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only found with difficulty.(27) Here it is appropriate to consider IE concepts regarding sovereignty.

The study of the "kingship in heaven" theme in Greek mythology can greatly benefit from comparative IE research. Let us briefly summarize some suggestions which we have already advanced elsewhere. We proposed to see in the sequence Ouranos/Cronos/Zeus a chronological succession of a *dieu-cadre,* of a purely varunian and a more mitrian sovereign, similar to what can be found in the *Mahābhārata,* with the appearance first of Bhīṣma, then of Pāṇḍu and his son Yudiṣṭhira, the change from the first to the second sovereign-god being characterized by an evolution from a lack of collaboration between the auxiliaries of sovereignty and the older sovereign (to whom however they are more closely related chronologically) to a full collaboration between them and the younger sovereign: which is the cause with Hecatoncheirs and Cyclops or Prometheus in Greece, Vidura and Dhṛtarāṣṭra in India. Besides, here the eschatological crisis also occurs, a scheme studied by S. Wikander and Georges Dumézil, in which the auxiliaries of sovereignty also play a prominent part. During this crisis, in Indian epic, Yudiṣṭhira (together with his brothers) and Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Vidura are first opposed, then finally united under Yudiṣṭhira's paradisiac reign: the Greek counterpart would be the legend about the struggle between Zeus and Prometheus, and their subsequent reconciliation.

These ideas have been expounded for several years, but we would like to present some new observations that emphasize once again the interest for the study of Greek religion of a point of IE ideology which is not part of the three-functions system — the conception of sovereignty, with its particular structure and the existence of definite deities. Our analysis has allowed us to appreciate the importance, in such central Greek myths as that related in the *Theogony,* of some figures who can be understood as Greek counterparts of the IE auxiliaries of sovereignty, of the Indian gods Aryaman and Bhaga:(28) Cyclops and Hecatoncheirs in Hesiod, or Prometheus, with Epimetheus in the background, in Aeschylus. If we agree with Dumézil,(29) that

(27) We are here in an area where IE and non-IE data may have been mixed together, as has been shown in the important studies by C.S. Littleton, 1970a, b.

(28) On these deities, see now G. Dumézil, 1977, pp. 86-114.

(29) But see also the careful remarks of E.C. Polomé, 1970, pp. 63-82.

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these figures of Greek myth will be seen to correspond to Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Vidura in the *Mahābhārata,* or to Höðr and Baldr in Scandinavian myth.

But then we have to face a problem of comparison. In India Aryaman and Bhaga are not only, through their epic counterparts Vidura and Dhṛtaraṣṭra, actors in a mythological narrative concerning the sovereign gods. They are also real gods by themselves, they have their own functions which are not limited to the part they take in myth, and they have importance as the objects of a cult. One cannot say the same about Cyclops and Hecatoncheirs, nor even about Prometheus.(30) They may appear like Greek counterparts of the auxiliaries of sovereignty in myth, but not in religious practice.

This situation could mean that the divine archetypes which Dumézil wishes to reconstitute from the Indian Bhaga and Aryaman, the Iranian Sraosa and Aši, the Roman Terminus and Juventas,(31) have not, in Greece, produced real gods; instead their part in myth has been played by figures of another kind, presenting original features not reducible to these IE prototypes alone.(32) But another hypothesis may be suggested: that the strictly theological values of the auxiliaries of sovereignty have been transferred to other figures. This was the subject of a seminar held at the Ecole Normale Superieure in Paris in 1982/3.

If one looks for a figure in the Greek pantheon to whom the definition of "auxiliary of sovereignty" could be applied, one name immediately comes to mind: that of Hermes. If there is one feature which seems to cause no problems about this many-faceted and complex god, it is surely his role as a herald of the sovereign-god Zeus, performer of his wills, transmitter of his orders.(33) This aspect has been disputed by J. Orgogozo,

(30) Prometheus is certainly an important figure in Greek mythology, which indeed cannot be simply reduced to the aspect we consider here (for other features, see J.-P. Vernant, 1952 (= 1965, II, pp. 5-15). But he is not a god.

(31) See G. Dumézil, 1977, pp. 138-141, 168-182.

(32) For that point, see for Prometheus above n. 30 and D. Briquel, 1983, article to appear in *Ogam.* For Cyclops and Hecatoncheirs, we should remember that J.-P. Vernant saw them as representatives of a metallurgical and a military magic (M. Détienne, J.-P. Vernant, 1974, pp. 80-82) – which is true at the Greek level, but appreciably different to what would be expected from the IE model.

(33) We can illustrate the importance of this feature of the god from the fact that in a handbook which is not particularly burdened with theory, and therefore especially useful, such as that of L. Séchan, P. Lévêque, 1966, pp. 271-272, this function of the god is presented first.

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whose objection was that at the most ancient level we can reach, in the *Iliad,* he does not yet have the function of the god's messenger which he is to have in subsequent time — a function which is fulfilled by Iris.(34) But these remarks do not obliterate the fact that he is a god "close to men", and may on some occasions transmit Zeus' orders to them. They are mainly intended to underline his importance as a transmitter and protector of sovereignty (already in the *Iliad* he transmits to Pelops the sceptre Zeus has given):(35) they seem to us, on the contrary, to show that he does act as an intermediary, especially between gods and men and in affairs related to sovereignty — which exactly confirms the hypothesis we are examining.

Could some light be shed on the figure of Hermes by a comparison with the IE notion of auxiliaries of sovereignty, with deities like the Indian Aryaman and Bhaga? Such a hypothesis — we want to stress this immediately — is contrary to many opinions which have been presented about this god. First, it seems to be inconsistent with the perhaps most generally received theory, that going back to S. Eitrem, who considered him as a basically pre-Hellenic figure: Hermes, as seen by Eitrem, is a god of the cairn, of the *herm,* to which, indeed, he seems to owe his name.(36) This cairn, later boundary-stone, was originally a funeral monument: this would explain the link between this god and the dead, and, furthermore, his link with fecundity.(37) But this thesis seems to be based upon a dangerous presupposition: no text about *herm* relates it to the dead;(38) it is explained with reference to the journeys of

(34) See J. Orgogozo, 1949.

(35) This point has been well illustrated by J. Orgogozo, 1949, who has seen the importance of this aspect which had, before, been somewhat neglected. Thus we can explain e.g. his role in the myth of the golden fleece or, that of the related Figure of Myrtilos in the legend of Olympia. Our remarks do not contradict the affinities stated by this author between this god and the third function. The auxiliaries, in the sovereign function, have a clear relationship to the third function.

(36) On that point, we among others, L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie,* I, p. 386 sq., U. v. Wilamowitz, *Die Glaube der Hellenen,* I, p. 159, P. Kretschmer, *Glotta,* 1924, pp. 104, 205, E. Benveniste, *R Ph,* 1932, pp. 129-130, W.K. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods,* London, Methuen, 1950, p. 151, J. Chittenden, 1947, p. 113, P. Chantraine, *AC,* 1953, p. 69.

(37) See e.g. S. Eitrem, 1909, 1913, P. Raingeard, 1934, J. Orgogozo, 1949, pp. 170-171, L. Séchan, P. Lévêque, 1966, p. 274, M.P. Nilsson, 1967, I, pp. 501-510.

(38) According to *Souda, s.v. hermaion,* the herm is made of the stones of which the roads have been cleared; in Eust., *ad* Hom., *Od.,* 16, 471, this god was first to open roads and he marked them thus; according to Cornutus, *De nat. deor,* 15, travellers throw stones on these cairns (on the significance of this practice see L. Séchan, P. Lévêque, 1966, p. 274).

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travellers and nothing else. And the links between herms and ground-fertility must not be overestimated: the study of H. Goldman has fully demonstrated that the phallic appearance of these stones in the classical period was a secondary development, and had first been related to the cult of Dionysos before being related to the cult of Hermes.(39)

Our hypothesis is inconsistent with the portrayal of Hermes as a "Lord of the wild beasts", once more related to pre-Hellenic times, or as a deity of domestic flocks, possibly of pre-Hellenic(40) but perhaps of IE origin.(41) But L. Kahn's recent book has already shown clearly enough how partial such a definition was.(42) If we reduce the complex Hermes to a mere god of flocks (or of wild beasts)(43) we run the risk of neglecting some important features of this god which seem to be inconsistent with such an origin:(44) e.g. his social aspect, which J. Toutain has rightly emphasized(45) – he is the god of everything that makes a link between humans – or his *mètis*, his astute intelligence, well studied by L. Kahn herself.

Hermes' personality is multi-faceted, comprising apparently heterogeneous features. If we take the headings proposed by L. Séchan and P. Lévêque in their handbook(46) – which seems to possess the necessary objectivity for a sound descrip-

(39) See H. Goldman, 1942.

(40) See J. Chittenden, 1947. The author later attempted to support her hypothesis by an etymology of Argeiphontes as hound-killer (J. Chittenden, 1948).

(41) See e.g. E. Perdrizet, 1903, who considers him as an Arcadian god, R. Petazzoni, 1950, p. 498, W. Fauth, 1967, c. 1072-1073, who relate him to Iranian ram-gods.

(42) See L. Kahn, 1978, p. 13.

(43) This hypothesis of J. Chittenden requires some qualification. If we consider this god first as the protector of wild animals and secondarily of flocks (because he is invoked to stay away from them), we run the risk of inverting the relative importance of both terms. His relation to wild animals is not essential in our extant texts, and therefore it appears rather as the negative counterpart (due to the fundamental ambiguity of the god) of his relationship to the flocks (see L. Kahn, 1978, pp. 89-91). However his relationship to wild animals really exists, and we cannot therefore consider him as merely a god of the flocks.

(44) One may also criticize those who have emphasized his role as god of the flocks with having not sufficiently studied the connection of this pastoral Hermes with the other deities who are interested in flocks (Apollo and Pan, for whom see H. Borgeaud, 1979). It is necessary to determine what kind of differential relationship Hermes has with flocks. We should recall the interesting attempt by C. Ramnoux, 1962, pp. 181-195, comparing Hermes with Apollo from that and other points of view.

(45) In his important article, J. Toutain, 1932.

(46) See L. Séchan, P. Lévêque, 1966, pp. 269-274.

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tion of this god, not vitiated by hypotheses – we may define his functions (besides that of executor of Zeus' wills) as those of chthonian and infernal god, leader of the dead, pastoral deity, god of cairns and herms, god of travellers, tradesmen and robbers, god of luck, and protector of eloquence, reason and games. We have to face a disconcerting juxtaposition of ideas, and one needs a great deal of optimism to agree with J. Orgogozo's statement that "such a diversity simply corresponds to a human reality, an organized unity".(47) It is easy to understand why some authors did not escape the temptation of supposing several originally distinct deities, which were later amalgamated in the figures we know – but without really explaining how this unifying process could have taken place. (48)

Methodologically, it is surely more advisable to assert, with L. Kahn, the necessity of looking for a principle of coherence, than to imagine an impossible synthesis of elements which would be too discontinuous to be reduced to unity from several distinct origins.(49) But even L. Kahn's study itself, starting from the corrected premises, leads to an emphasis on the deep heterogeneity of this god. He is the social god, well defined by J. Toutain, but he is also a god of *mètis,* characterized by an ambiguous, possibly negative aspect.

Should we be satisfied with this statement of persistent diversity? Here we think IE comparativism can be useful, especially with such complicated figures as the auxiliaries of sovereignty. One may ask, at least as a hypothesis, if the auxiliary of the Greek sovereign-god may not have inherited the characters of these IE figures, concentrating them within himself. For, if one compares the values of Aryaman and Bhaga in India with the functions of Hermes in Greece, one will recognize on both sides an analogous diversity, with striking parallels.

In Dumézil's analysis(50) of this god appears to be primarily characterized as a custodian of the cohesion of Arya society. He appears to us as a friend, as one who attends to "the strength of

(47) See J. Orgogozo, 1949, p. 164. The author bases her remarks on the analog with Malagash data.

(48) See e.g. J. Orgogozo, 1949, pp. 177-179, L. Séchan, P. Lévêque, 1966, pp. 278-279.

(49) See L. Kahn, 1978, p. 14.

(50) See G. Dumézil, 1977, pp. 96-102.

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the ties uniting members of Arya societies", by the means of marriages, links of hospitality, free traffic on the roads, common cults and gifts; he is also related to the underworld, presiding over one of the paths that lead to it, and has some ties with the society of the *Fathers*, who probably were originally the deceased ancestors.

Now most of these features seem to be applicable to Hermes:

- Hermes is, since Homer, a god who is "close to men" and, inspite of his ambiguous or even negative aspects, one may subscribe to the opinion of L. Séchan and P. Lévêque, who see him as a mainly beneficient god (especially related to good luck and prosperity).(51)
- We need not remember his importance as a god of paths and travellers(52) — and in this function of his can probably be traced the origin of his relation with cairns and boundary-stones.(53)
- His function as psychopomp too may clearly appear as the counterpart of what can be stated for Aryaman. It is necessary to emphasize that for him, as for the Indian god, his relation with the dead is that of a leader who establishes a link between both worlds, those of the living and that of the dead,(54) and not in the role of a master over the kingdom of the dead, as a purely infernal and chthonian figure.
- His role in the exchange of goods is also obvious.(55) In the Homeric hymn Zeus gives him the privilege of patronizing the *epamoibia erga*, which started with his exchange with Apollo. And it is essential to understand that his interest in flocks may be related to this aspect. We must remember E. Benveniste's fine study of the word *probaton*(56) and the parallel remarks of J.-P. Vernant.(57) At the start we are in a kind of society where wealth is normally made up of flocks. By the use of a word involving movement, this wealth is defined as a mobile one, inserted in a movement of exchange. Thus these

(51) See L. Séchan, P. Lévêque, 1966, p. 276; also J. Orgogozo, 1949, J.-P. Vernant, 1965, p. 126. We may quote some significant formulas: Zeus, *Il.*, 24, 334-335, tell him "among all the gods you like to be a companion for the mortals"; Aristophane, *Pax*, 592, presents him as "the most friendly god to men".

(52) See for the data L. Séchan, P. Lévêque, 1966, pp. 274-275.

(53) On this point, see n. 38 above.

(54) Lee L. Séchan, P. Lévêque, 1966, pp. 272-274.

(55) See L. Séchan, P. Lévêque, 1966, p. 275.

(56) See E. Benveniste, 1969, I, pp. 37-45 (*Probaton et l'économie homérique*).

(57) In J.-P. Vernant, 1963 (= 1965, I, pp. 126-170, especially pp. 156-158).

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goods are understood as *probata,* as opposed to *keimelia,* and fit into a wider system of oppositions between Hermes and Hestia which has been well studied by J.-P. Vernant.

● His function in links of hospitality may seem less obvious. But let us first note that such a function is already not so much attested as reconstructed for the Indian god.(58) And in Greece (where Zeus Xenios presides over these ties) one may quote data which support this idea. His function as a herald, his patronage of travellers, connects him with this notion, and it is probably not fortuitous that, in the *Odyssea,* Eumeus, when welcoming Ulysses, makes offerings to that god. He is even invoked as *Proxenios* by Aeschylus.(59) What is in fact essential is that, as was aptly noted by J. Toutain, he presides over every form of exchange among members of society, even the non-material ones. He is the god of crossroads, of places where people meet, of language and of the eloquence which makes communication possible.(60)

If one considers all these features, which can be reduced to the general idea of a "social god", as Toutain thought, Hermes seems to be a fairly accurate counterpart to Aryaman. However, two aspects of Aryaman seem not to fit into this analogy: it cannot be said that Hermes presides over marriage, nor that he plays a central role in liturgy. But these differences do not seem to present an insupportable difficulty: they may only be the effect of an evolution, in two distinct areas, of originally closely related figures. Some data about Hermes may suggest that these divergences are not insuperable.

● In Greece, marriage chiefly concerns feminine deities. But Hermes can have a part in it. There was in Eubea, according to Hesychius, an *Epithalamitès Hermes.* And he is seen playing a part in the introduction of the first woman, Pandora, as a wife to Epimetheus, like that of Aphrodite as Anchises' wife, Eurydice as Orpheus', Alcmene as Rhadamantis'.(61) Indeed this is also related to another feature of this god, which we have not yet considered: his ties with trickery, persuasion, which L. Kahn has studied.(62) But one can say too, with J.-P. Ver-

(58) See G. Dumézil, 1977, p. 98 (where this feature is mainly considered because of P. Thieme's hypothesis).

(59) In *Suppl.,* 920. On this point, see L. Kahn, 1978, p. 180.

(60) See L. Séchan, p. 276.

(61) See S. Eitrem, 1913, c. 774-5, where other analogous data will be found (relationship with Eros, Aphrodite, invocations by lovers).

(62) See L. Kahn, 1978, pp. 126-143.

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nant,(63) that this god may be interested in marriage because, for the Greeks, marriage is also an exchange between two family-groups and therefore belonging to the social aspect of this god.

● Hermes does not preside in Greece over cults and liturgy. But one has to remember that, in the Homeric hymn, he is shown instituting a kind of sacrifice. It is true that it has sometimes been stressed that this sacrifice is made according to norms that are quite different from the usual standards: we find here an aspect of the ambiguity of this god which we have not yet examined. But such an interpretation has also been criticized, and others have seen in that practice a different, but quite legitimate form of sacrifice: so the function of Hermes appears as a parallel to that of Prometheus.(64) However, whatever be the real sense of this behavior, we can note that Hermes is possibly related to rites. And it is finally perfectly in keeping with his aspect of intermediary between the world of gods and the world of men, of which we have already seen other features. That this role in Greece doesn't usually imply his presiding over religious practice may not be critical. What counts is that he acts as an intermediary between gods and men, between the living and the dead, and between living men themselves.(65)

So a comparison between Aryaman and Hermes seems to reveal a large series of rather similar features, and to explain fairly satisfactorily the "social" character of the Greek deity. But we cannot be content with that. When presenting some aspects of this god which may allow a comparison with Aryaman, we are aware of simplifying more complex data. Hermes' relation to marriage is not limited to the social relation between two family groups: there is also a much more ambiguous aspect of his relationship, relating to persuasion, even trickery. His relationship with wealth as constituted by flocks is not only the result of his role in the economic exchange they can produce. He also presides over these goods as such, in their natural process of growth (therefore he presides over the fecundity of flocks — but, in a specific way, and not as a *Gott der Fruchtbarkeit*) and even in the risks they can run — e.g. from wild

(63) See J.-P. Vernant, 1963 (= 1965, I, pp. 139-140). Also L. Kahn, 1978, p. 180.

(64) See respectively L. Kahn, 1978, pp. 41-73, W. Burkert, 1983.

(65) For the importance of this acting as a mediator, see J. Toutain, 1932, L. Kahn, 1978, p. 179, W. Burkert, 1983.

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beasts or robbers, whose protector he also is. He is the god of regular trade, normal exchange: but also the god of robbers too. There is an important aspect of ambiguity in such a deity, with difficult or clearly negative features – which L. Kahn quite correctly criticized J. Orgogozo for having neglected.

It is clear that Aryaman cannot provide us with elements which could help us to explain the shadowy side of this figure. But is it not possible to consider the other auxiliary of sovereignty in the Indian mythology, Bhaga? One may ask, indeed, if at least some features of the Greek Hermes, irreducible to the "Aryaman" aspect of such an IE archetype, could not be explained by the fact that the sole auxiliary of the Greek sovereign-god concentrated in his own person features coming from the "Bhaga" aspect as well.

Indeed the Indian god of fortune, presiding over the reparation of material goods, may well lend himself to comparison with Hermes. We have seen that the Greek god presided over flocks, that is, the usual source of wealth in ancient times. And one can remember his role as a distributor of goods in the Homeric hymn, when he shares out the parts of offerings amongst the gods.(66)

But the most important thing is not this overall similarity. One has to take into consideration one crucial point about Bhaga. In the hymns, he appears as presiding mostly over wealth.(67) But this is only a partial insight about this god, and above all about what he probably was. In the *Bhramanas*, there is the formula: "Bhaga is blind", which seems to be illustrated by the part played by his epic counterpart Dhṛtarāṣṭra in the *Mahābhārata*.(68) In the eschatological crisis which underlies the poem, the blind man is a most important actor and seems, at the very least, to share responsability for all the misfortunes of the good Pāṇḍavas. Objectively he sides with the demoniac forces, and it is only after the final victory that he will alter his attitude and join the good. He may be defined, as G. Dumézil defines him, as a personification of fate: essentially ambiguous, obviously purely negative before his transmutation into providence, with the revelation made after the end of the crisis.(69)

(66) This application of his distributive function does not, however, exist in India. See G. Dumézil, 1977, p. 106.
(67) See G. Dumézil, 1977, pp. 102-107.
(68) See the analysis by G. Dumézil, 1968, pp. 149-175.
(69) See G. Dumézil, 1968, especially pp. 149-151.

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If one accepts this view, Bhaga goes far beyond mere material fortune. He is Fortune, he represents the uncertainty of the future with its share of good but also of bad luck. He is far from being purely beneficient, at least for the mortals who cannot know the intentions of Providence!

This more complex vision of Bhaga seems to provide important material for our comparative problem. Hermes is the god of luck. A piece of good luck is called *hermaion* and good fortune, in gambling or elsewhere, "the Hermes' touch". But this is an aspect of his more general interest in the hazards of the future.(70) At the end of the Homeric hymn, Zeus allots to him a kind of sooth-saying, through the interpretation of stones, the divination of the Thries. And his famous magic wand "of wealth and prosperity" is also a magical means of bringing good luck.(71) J. Orgogozo identifies all the aspects that made Hermes a protector of the good luck and prosperity of a kingdom.

Above all, the future is uncertain and luck can change. Here again we find the shifty aspect of this god, his dangerous, ambiguous side, his propensity to preside over one thing and over its contrary at the same time. But is that not precisely the characteristic of fate? As a god of the flocks, he protects them and makes them grow, but he may let them be devoured by wild beasts or stolen by robbers; as a god of tradesmen and travellers, he may choose to favor their enemies, the robbers over whom he also presides; he has a part in marriage, but Pandora's legend shows which negative counterpart hides behind this founding act of human society.(72) Let us but refer to the fine analysis L. Kahn has provided of the Homeric hymn which is devoted to Hermes, god of ambiguity. There too he is clearly similar to Bhaga, to his epic counterpart Dhṛtarāṣṭra, even if the fact that he plays no part in any crisis like that related to the Indian poem prevents him from being changed from the ambiguous figure we know into a purely good god, relieved of his negative features, in an eschatological future.(73)

(70) See Aristophane, *Pax*, 365; L. Sechan, P. Leveque, 1966, p. 276.
(71) See Hom. Hymn to Hermes, 530 sq., Apollod., 3, 10, 2.
(72) For this episode, see J.-P. Vernant in M. Detienne, 1979, pp. 98-121.
(73) But in so far as in Greece Prometheus plays a part analogous to that of Bhaga (see D. Briquel, 1978), a similar evolution can be found among the Hellenes (the facts are however more complicated: in Greece the category of demons, too, is lacking, so that Zeus is also submitted to an evolution from an ambiguous state to a

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Thus both the Indian auxiliaries of sovereignty, Bhaga and Aryaman, seem likely to account for several aspects of the enigmatic Hermes. Part of the complexity of this figure could be explained, finally, by the fact that this single auxiliary of the king of Mount Olympus unites features which, in India, were distributed among two rather different auxiliaries.

Can we regard this comparison with the Indian gods as sufficient to explain the complexity of Hermes? We have to add some remarks, which will somewhat limit the validity of the comparison we have introduced. What we may call the Bhaga-aspect of Hermes can throw some light on his ambiguity. But Hermes' ambiguity is not exactly like that of Dhṛtarṣṭra. Hermes is not the toy of fate, conscience-stricken and fully aware of his impotence.(74) He may consciously do what appears to be wrong: is not the Homeric hymn the account of his first misdeed? Such an important aspect of the god as his *mètis*(75) remains for the most part outside our comparison – his gift for trickery which, if it sometimes has good effects (e.g. when Hermes helps a Zeus beaten by Typhoeus), can have bad effects as well.(76)

It has been realized for a long time that this possibly purely negative side of Hermes, but which is at the same time related to his intelligence and astuteness, allowed him to be set among the tricksters, and especially to be related to such a figure as the Germanic Loki.(77) It is sufficient to recall the important works of K. Kerényi and N.O. Brown, and a recent and suggestive oral communication by W. Burkert.(78) And, lastly, in a fine study about the problem of crossing the boundary, B. Lincoln has compared the text of the Homeric hymn about Hermes with the legend of Loki.(79) In that ability to trick,

(74) He thus appears all the more responsible for his negative aspects than is the Germanic blind Höor (if the analysis proposed by G. Dumézil is accepted in this case; see above n. 29).

(75) For this notion, see M. Detienne, J.-P. Vernant, 1974. Such a notion appears to be central in the analysis of Hermes by L. Kahn, 1978.

(76) The ability to use *mètis* of this god partly corresponds to what we consider as the Bhaga-aspect in so far as *mètis* is a means of getting fate under control, of grasping the *kairos*, the occasion it may offer? But such a notion certainly goes far beyond this aspect – and the Indian parallel we are considering has nothing of this *mètis*. Dhṛtarāṣṭra is distinguished by neither intelligence, nor astuteness.

(77) We may remember the short essay which G. Dumézil devoted to this figure of Scandinavian mythology in 1948.

(78) See K. Kerényi, C.G. Jung, P. Radin, 1958, pp. 149-173, N.O. Brown, 1969, W. Burkert, 1983.

(79) See B. Lincoln, 1982.

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with its very disturbing side, Hermes is clearly related to this kind of figure, familiar in IE mythology in the form of Loki or Syrdon.(80)

But J. Orgogozo had shown the limitations of this parallel.(81) Without asserting with her that "in Hermes everything is good",(82) one may claim that the negative aspect of the Greek god is by no means identical to that of the Germanic demon, whose responsibility is directly involved in the eschatological drama,(83) and who then fights against the gods. We do not intend to deny any relationship between Hermes and a figure like Loki: indeed even J. Orgogozo admits "a parallelism which could hardly be explained by chance" between the Greek and Germanic figures.(84) But we would simply observe that, here too, reference to the IE category of auxiliaries of sovereignty may be useful, both to justify such a relationship and to stress its limitations. For, if one considers the figure which may appear as the Greek counterpart of the IE myth about eschatological crisis, as reconstructed by Dumézil from Indian and Scandinavian data – i.e. the struggle between Zeus and Prometheus – one will realize that the category of demons – i.e. figures like Duryodhana or Loki – does not exist as such. The consequence of this is that the negative features are attached to the only actors of the drama in Greece – the sovereign-god and the auxiliaries of sovereignty, i.e. Zeus as well as Prometheus (with Epimetheus in the background).(85) Clearly neither Prometheus, nor, of course, Zeus, can be defined as demons. But nevertheless the Titan and his divine enemy both have some feature in common with a figure like Loki.(86)

(80) When studying Loki, G. Dumézil rightly concluded that he questioned the value of intelligence, with its ambiguity and its possibly perverse side (G. Dumézil, 1948). Hermes, god of intelligence, of discourse, of *logos*, who is able to persuade men to do wrong as well as right, is a good representative of this problem.

(81) See J. Orgogozo, 1949, pp. 166-168.

(82) See the objections to this thesis in L. Kahn, 1978, p. 14.

(83) At least in Snorri's version. See G. Dumézil, 1968, pp. 222-237; but also E.C. Polomé, 1970.

(84) See J. Orgogozo, 1949, p. 166.

(85) See D. Briquel, 1980, pp. 176-182.

(86) Such a parallelism can also be found in the ambivalent notion of *mètis*: it characterizes Zeus and Prometheus as well as Hermes, and could also be applied to the Germanic trickster. About Prometheus, we should also remember that he is, like Loki, a representative of the IE category of the ambrosia-robbers (see G. Dumézil, 1924). About the necessary infraction of the natural order which is inherent in the institution of sacrifice (which is related to the Greek tricksters, Hermes and Prometheus), see W. Burkert, 1983.

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Hermes – unlike Prometheus – plays no part in the eschatological drama, or at least in what replaces it in Greece. But, as with the Titan, one may consider that his ambiguous aspect can be related to the fact that in Greece the category of the auxiliaries of sovereignty, inherited from IE times, carries a greater amount of negativity than is the case in other IE areas, and especially that it has a propensity for consciously opposing the world order planned by the gods, which is elsewhere alloted to a category of demons that do not exist in the Greek legacy of the IE myth of eschatological crisis.

Is there something to be gained by comparing the Greek god Hermes with the Indian Aryaman and Bhaga,(87) as when we compare him with the Scandinavian Loki? We at least hope that we have been able to suggest that our knowledge of Greek religion can be greatly improved through systematic comparison with the results IE comparativism can glean from other areas. However genuine it is, the evidence for Mediterranean, Oriental, or non-IE data in Greece obviously did not cause the whole IE legacy to disappear. If we want such a comparison to be really fruitful, we must take into account not only partial aspects of IE comparative theory such as functional tripartition; also IE ideology about sovereignty may be especially useful.

(87) We have defined the IE archetype of the auxiliaries of sovereignty from Indian data. One could object that the risk of limiting our point of view may occur since auxiliaries of sovereignty exist as real gods at least as much in Rome, where G. Dumézil has proposed to see them in the figures of Terminus and Juventas (G. Dumézil, 1977, pp. 154-182). But it appears that in this context the figures have undergone a specific evolution, so that they cannot easily be used for comparison. Analogies between Hermes and Terminus, even if both are related to boundary-stones, are very remote. Boundary-stones have in each case different meanings. For Hermes, at least originally (see H. Goldman, 1942), they are related to roads, to movement; for Terminus, they are related to possession, firmly fixed in the ground.

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BLACKENED HERO AND HEROIC TRICKSTER: AN INVESTIGATION OF CONGENERS

DEAN A. MILLER
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The type of Second Function warrior called the "Blackened Hero" is here extended to identify types of the warrior-hero in which the characteristic of trickery, intelligence and possibly magic balance the normative stances of the latter though sometimes reduced to a comic or didactic role. The trickster type, however, may also abandon its complementarity to the "true" hero and become actively opposed, as occurs, for example, in some sagas.

In this article I would like to extend and intensify an investigation into a figure who can, I believe, be particularized within the Indo-European ideological frame. This figure is the Heroic Trickster, a complex and intriguing special form of the widely recurring Archetype (if Jung is correct) of the mythic Trickster.(1) I realize that Dumézil, in his examination of the Norse god Loki, rejected the Trickster as type, evidently feeling that the generality of the label was apt to mask the specificity of his mischief-making god.(2) With apologies to the master, I still will use this image – the Heroic Trickster or warrior of reversal – to identify a mode of the Indo-European warrior, a mode I see as carefully balanced against and usually, though not always, complementary to the normative Guardian in the Second Function.

Now, to find an example of "cunning intelligence" intruded into the confrontations of the identifiably IE warrior type is not that difficult.(3) The earliest listeners to the bard who

(1) C.G. Jung, *Four Archetypes: Mother/Rebirth/Spirit/Trickster* (Transl. by R.F.C. Hull; Bollingen, Princeton, New Jersey, 1970): 135-152.

(2) G. Dumézil, *Loki* (v. 1 of Les Dieux et les Hommes, G.P. Maisonneuve, Paris, 1948): 20.

(3) Cf. M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*) Transl. by J. Lloyd, Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey, 1978) and expecially P. Vidal-Naquet, "The Black Hunter and the Origins of the Athenian Ephebeia," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, N.S. 14 (1968): 49-64. Vidal-Naquet's "black hunter" is the representative of a special kind of adolescent heroism, in whose adventures the use of trickery and of "unsportsmanlike" weapons are allowed. His place (parallel with that of Tale, below) is the borderland.

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sang the *Úr-Epos* of the "Expedition to Troy" must have noticed that there was *some* difference between the character and the actions of Achilles and Odysseus, and Odysseus-of-many-wiles still holds fascination for us. My own interest in the unheroic hero sharpened when I identified what I termed a "blackened hero" in two very separate – in time and space – expressions of heroic action: the oral-traditional Serbo-Croat heroic songs collected by Parry and Lord,(4) and the Irish Celtic *Táin Bó Cuâlgne,* the portion of the Ulster Cycle called the Cattle-Raid of Cooley.(5)

Since that investigation is in process of publication elsewhere, I will merely summarize it here.(6) The "blackened hero" of the Moslem Serbo-Croat songs is Tale of Orasacs, called Tale Budalin or "the Fool." His characteristics are these: a dirty and repulsive physical appearance and a foul mouth; a mount, accoutrements and companions that signally reverse the accepted heroic norm; personal greed, uncouth gluttony and, in a phrase, "triumphant anality."(7) His *powers* however are the powers of craft, of planning and intelligence, and often of magical art (weather-mastery and the possession of a "magical" mace).(8) Tale, in other words, represents a rational intelligence *and* magical craft implanted among the gorgeous but interchangeable, active but unthinking, Achillean heroes of the Serbo-Croat songs.

His parallel figure in the *Tain* – and I admit him to be a minor entry as the *Tain* is now constituted – is a warrior of Ulster, Iliach mac Cass. Again the physical contrast of Iliach to the other combatants is marked: his weapons rough and crude, his chariot decrepit and lacking a charioteer, his appearance, in fact, shameful in every sense. Iliach however, also shows

(4) *Serbo-Croat Heroic Songs*, vol. II (M. Parry and A. Lord, eds., Cambridge, Massachusetts and Belgrade, 1954) = *SCHS* II; vol. III, "The Wedding of Smailagić Meho," (Transl. by A. Lord, Publications of the Milman Parry Collection, Text and Translation Series, No. 1, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1974) = *SCHS* III.

(5) *Táin Bó Cuálgne, From the Book of Leinster* (ed. by C. O'Rahelly. Irish Text Society, XLIX, The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, 1967) = *Táin.*

(6) D.A. Miller, "The Blackened Hero: Serbian and Celtic Evidence for the Warrior of Reversal," *sous presse, The Mankind Quarterly.*

(7) *SCHS* II: 76, 123, 130, 139, 260; *SCHS* III: 162, 163, 174, 178, 198-199.

(8) *SCHS* II: 142, 200, 203, 204, 210, 211, 220, 262; *SCHS* III: 201ff.

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more than a hint of his ability to plan, and more than a hint of magical powers.(9)

My conclusion was that Iliach, and *a fortiori* Tale, appear as "warriors of reversal," constructed in two IE contexts to serve in active contrast to the perfect "hyperbolic warriorhood" of the heroes around them. When fully described the reversed type possesses both rational *and* secret, magical force: it "frames" the Second Function, in fact, with powers drawn from both the First Function and the Third.

My assumption here is of a clearly IE functional construction.(10) If asked to defend the "blackened hero" as a phenomenon integral to the IE conception of warriorhood, I submit that it is not difficult to find parallel or congeneric figures in other societies strongly identified with the IE *ideologie*. If that "blackened" aspect is lacking, which connects Tale and Iliach to such a type as the Smith (whose craft also supports the warrior) other characteristics are firmly in place.

In the traditional Welsh literature appears a fine figure of a Heroic Trickster: I mean Cei, as he shows himself in the *mabinogi* "Culhwych and Olwen"(11) – quite different, as Gwyn Jones has observed, from the later portrait of Sir Kay the Seneschal, "boor and buffoon...the discourteous fool."(12) For one thing, Cei of the *mabinogi* receives at birth two separate and remarkably disimilar sets of "gifts."

The first set, supplied by Cynyr Fair-Beard – "Cei was said to be his son" – is made up of the following: he will be "cold," he will be "unyielding," he will be physically strong, able to endure fire and water, and "there shall never be a server or officer like him."(13) The second set of gifts – the two sets are separated by no more than a hundred lines – gives Cei

(9) *Tain*: 243, *11.* 3910-11, 3933-34. Lest Iliach be seen as too minor a figure, it should be noted that his last combat is spoken of as one of the "great slayings" of the *Tain*.

(10) The fact that South Slav culture was overlaid for almost six hundred years by the Ottoman Turkish sovereignty cannot be ignored, but I have been unable to find any significant evidence for a Turkish origin of Tale Budalin. No parallel appears in e.g. the Danismend *epos* or in the Oghuz *Kitab-i Dede Korkut*, nor in the Turkic epics examined by N. Chadwick and V. Zhirmunsky in their *Oral Epics of Central Asia* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1969).

(11) Page citations are to P.K. Ford, ed., *The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales* (University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1977) = Ford.

(12) Gwyn Jones *Kings, Beasts, and Heroes* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1972): 96.

(13) Ford: 128-129.

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power over water, the ability to deal wounds no human agency can cure, a "victorious" destiny, the ability to shape-change, and a "hot" nature.(14)

The first "gifts" describe, in the main, a human if not *strictu sensu* heroic individual, who bears more than a passing resemblance to the grim Norse servant-warrior Starkadr: an individual to whom I will return. In the second set of characteristics, however, Cei advances far into the superhuman realm, his "gifts" being almost exactly contrasted to those of the first set. Now he will be not cold but "hot"; not merely unyielding but "victorious"; not merely able to endure fire and water but having an active power over those elements. And size and strength is contrasted to the magical power to shape-change.

It is the second set of gifts that Cei uses in the course of the narrative of "Culhwych and Olwen," as he is teamed with an extraordinary collection of individuals aiding Culhwych in his quests, with Cei often paired with the "strong-arm" knight Bedwyr. Cei tricks and kills Wyrnach the Giant;(15) in the rescue of Mabon ap Modron it is Cei, riding the back of the great Salmon of Llyn Llyw with Gwrhyr the Interpreter, who discovers Mabon's prison-fortress, and Cei then breaks down the walls "while Arthur's men were attacking the fort" and brings out the prisoner.(16) At last, in the adventure of Dillus the Bearded, it is again Cei who tricks this feared warrior, trapping him and plucking his beard while he still lives.(17)

And yet after the successful conclusion of this episode, as Jones remarks, "a queer thing followed."(18) Given a leash made from the hairs of Dillus' beard, Arthur the King sang:

> "A leash was made by Cei
> From the beard of Dillus son of Eurei
> If he were hale, 'tis you he'd slay!"(19)

(14) Ford: 132. These last two gifts – to be "victorious" and to have a "hot nature – give Cei a certain resemblance to the Irish Celtic Cuchulain, the warrior *non pareil* of the Ulster Cycle. Vernant, however, remarks ("The Black Hunter and the Origins of the Athenian Ephebeia," 63) that "the exploits of the Irish Cuchullain, which on his journey home make his return *from the frontier zone* so difficult and dangerous, *are also tricks*" (my emphasis). A hero in the earlier formulations may, then, cross to the zone of trickery in special circumstances. In any case, Cei's "heat." does not make its appearance until called forth by Arthur's insult.

(15) Ford: 145-146.

(16) Ford: 149.

(17) Ford: 150.

(18) Jones, *Kings, Beasts and Heroes*: 96.

(19) Ford: 151.

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Cei threupon became violently angry, and we must say justifiably so, for Arthur was not only showing the basest ingratitude, but seemed to be denigrating those powers – powers of the Heroic trickster – which Cei well knew were vital as adjuncts to knightly brawn. In any event Cei refused further aid to Arthur.

There is not one of this archaic Cei's acts or characteristics which cannot be fitted into the pattern of the Heroic Trickster. His symbiotic relationship to the true hero – the hero of pure force or unconsidered action – is clear. Like Tale, he provides plan and intelligence, craft and cunning; unlike Tale, Cei (as Sir Kay the Seneschal) will become in the later French Arthurian tales (the *matière de Bretagne*) a joke.

To make a joke of Cei/Sir Kay is to strip away or distort some significant part of his powers, and this seems to be possible in such a situation as obtains in the French *chansons de geste*. For this chivalric literature surely demonstrates, among other themes, the clear atrophy of the First Function (the king portrayed as *rex otiosus*, weak, or even contemptible) and a near-disappearance of the values of the Third Function as well but, most important for our investigation, it shows the hypertrophy of the stylized-combative aspect of the knight-warrior, whose behavior patterns are now completely dominant.

Again, the provision of a figure for comic contrast is a common device in many literatures (and in oral traditions as well) and the excesses of Tale may have provided a good chuckle, although I am convinced that humor was a minor rather than a major aim of the Serbo-Croat Singers of Tales. The *chansons* are another matter, and in them we can find other survivors, in addition to the bad-mannered Sir Kay, of what may once have been true warriors of reversal: Rainouart in *Guillaume d'Orange* is one, and the *Coauarz chevaliers* or Cowardly Knight of *Perlesvaus* is another.(20) Both of these figures show features that link them to our type: Rainouart is "blackened" (a Saracen kitchen-churl) and gluttonous, he is ungainly, he misuses the weapons of the true knight, preferring a tree-trunk as a

(20) *Guillaume d'Orange: Four Twelfth Century Epics* (Transl. by J. Ferrante, Columbia University Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, XCII; Columbia University Press, New York/London, 1974); *Le Haut Livre du Graal: Perlesvaus* (Nitzl and Jenkins, eds., vol. I: Text, Variants, Glossary; The Modern Philology Monographs of the University of Chicago, Chicago, 1932).

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club.(21) The Coward Knight rides backward, wearing all of his armor around his craven neck, he delivers such eminently rational statements as "No good ever comes of war," he has unexplained magical associations.(22) But both Rainouart and the Coward Knight are destined to lose these signs of reversal, and will be instructed and integrated into the chivalric mainstream in the course of the narrative of the *chanson*. Whatever their "deep" origins, both become comic and didactic relicts.(23)

In probing the singular early career of the Welsh Cei as Heroic Trickster I referred to his resemblance (in terms of the first set of gifts) to the Norse Starkadr: Saxo's Starcatherus. Dumézil has tried to make sense out of the career of this strange hero, putting him into a confrontation between the opposed concepts of "warrior of Odinn" and "warrior of Thorr."(24) I am grateful to be able to use these concepts, although as regards the old servant hero I must admit that I think that much confusion about Starkadr's affiliation with one or the other of the two gods, and his "destiny," would be much clarified if we simply reversed the positions of Odinn and Thorr, as they are set out in *Gautrekssaga*, in that Odinn

(21) *Guillaume d'Orange*: "Aliscans," *11.* 3148ff.; 3684ff; 4460ff; 5465ff. *inter alia*.

(22) *Perlesvaus*: bk. IV, 5, 51, *11.* 1352, 1359ff, 1401ff.

(23) Rainouart, it is true, is not far from the heroic subtype we might call the 'bumbling' or 'slow' or 'unpromising' hero, who is very slow to take up any sort of heroic career: Saxo gives us the example of Uffi (Offa) (in Saxo Grammaticus, *Historia Dannorum = The History of the Danes*, transl. by P. Fisher, edited by H. Ellis Davidson, D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, New Jersey, 1979): vol. I, bk. iv, p. 101, 107. It ought to be noted that Offa defeats his enemies with an old, rusted sword . . . (108). The great Beowulf himself falls into this type (*11.* 2183ff); see F. Klaeber, ed. *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg* (3rd ed., Boston, 1950): 196, n. 7; and this sort of hero is not unknown in the sagas: Grettir the Strong is one. The obvious contrast here is to the "extraordinary child," the usual heroic image, wherein the hero shows his essential superiority from birth. It may be added that Rainouart "matures" or is passed through those stages which eventually bring him to full, normative knighthood. This progress is educational and cautionary, as it were. The Coward Knight, however, is fully adult when he is encountered and when he undergoes his fatal training in proper knighly conduct.

(24) G. Dumézil, *The Destiny of the Warrior* (Translated by A. Hiltebeitel, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1970): 82-95, and now in the first third of Dumezil's *Mythe et épopée* II, published as *The Stakes of the Warrior* (translated by D. Weeks, edited and with an introduction by Jaan Puhvel: University of California Press, Berkeley/London, 1983) whre Dumézil brings to a conclusion his analysis of Starkadr.

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lays on Starkadr his unpleasant fate, and Thor attempts to ameliorate it.(25)

I am aware of my temerity, however, in accusing the *saga-madr* of getting his Norse gods confused; I will move on to a saga hero who is, I think, a better example of the genuine warrior of Odinn. This figure is a development of the Heroic Trickster, a warrior of reversal who, rather than assisting or complementing his warrior partner (the "true hero"), turns against him and against the ideal of service, honor and loyalty which fastens this Thorr-warrior into his place in the tripartite IE structure. More, this warrior of Odinn turns against the sovereign king as well, and we must ask how this could be so.

I suggest that for a vivid portrayal of such a one we look at the hero of *Egils saga Skalla-Grimssonar.*(26) Egil the son of Bald Grim, with his half-troll countenance and his skill in craft of every kind, is the third in his family line to set himself up against kingship. Egil's grandfather Kveld-Ulf was adamantly opposed to Norway's King Harald the Shaggy (admittedly Harald is a common opponent or foil in the Icelandic sagas) while Egil's father Bald Grim also refused to serve this king, and "accidentally" breaks a gift sent to him from Harald.(27) Egil himself is the obdurate and imaginative enemy of King Eirik Blood-Axe, and we note his verses: "Many a monarch/I've made the object/Of my innocent/Open eye."(28) Here the verse-maker's "open eye" not only signals the clarity of poetic vision, but must also be connected to the powers of Odinn's potent

(25) *Gautrekssaga = Gautrek's Saga and Other Medieval Tales* (translated by H. Pálsson and P. Edwards, New York University Press, New York/University of London Press, London, 1970): 38-42. Upon reflection, and *pace* Dumezil's matured view of Starkadr, I still feel that the evidence of Saxo Grammaticus, as contrasted to *Gautrekssaga,* presents a portrait of the old hero ambiguous in its placement of him completely in either the warriorship of Odinn or the warriorship of Thorr: note particularly the confrontation of Starkadr with "culture" in the case of Ingel and his queen in Book Six (cap. 167ff, pp. 184-195). Starkadr remains "grey" in several senses of the word . . .

(26) *Egilssaga Skalla-Grimssonar = Egil's Saga* (translated by H. Pálsson and P. Edwards, Penguin Calssics, Baltimore, 1978) = EgS.

(27) EgS: 26ff, 67, 91.

(28) EgS: 138ff. and especially 148; the verses on p. 211. Udo Strutynski has suggested in a personal communication that the "open eye" of Pálsson's translation should perhaps not be taken literally, but literarily – as a metaphoric-poetic flourish. In Gwyn Jones' translation of *Egil's Saga* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/New York, 1960) the last words of Egil's poem are translated "poetic soul," (p. 212). Probably Egil intended to convey Odinnic ambiguity.

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single eye; we also see Egil in his strange eye-brow play at the victory feast, after his brother Thorolf's death, when he is undoubtedly imaging Odinn.(29) (In the 17th century manuscript illustration used as a frontispiece for the Penguin Classics edition of *Egil's Saga* the artist of a much later day has clearly to show Egil in the guise of the chief pagan god, with a squinting eye and broad-brimmed hat, staff and long cloak).

More, both Egil and his father Grim Kveldulfsson are "twinned" with Thorr-warrior brothers who, in obediently serving kings, come to unfortunate ends. Grim's brother Thorolf is killed by his sovereign King Harald's order; Egil's brother, the younger Thorolf, is killed serving the English king Aethelstan.(30) And it seems important that Egil Odinn's-Warrior is potent in continuing *his* line: he has children and they marry, he lives to a not-terribly-attractive old age – he is, in short, one who "crafts" a family and is so eventually honored by succeeding generations (although, as the saga has it, "The men of Myrar" – Egil's descendents – "were outstandingly ugly").(31) The Thorr-warriors, Egil's uncle and brother, die without issue.

In explaining Egil's derogation of the Thorr-warrior on the one hand and of kingship (or what Egil and his father and grandfather seem to mark as "bad" kingship) on the other, it may be theorized that Thorr-worship was in decline in Scandinavia at the period of this saga anyway, and that anti-monarchic sentiment was especially strong in the "Viking republic" of Iceland. All this may be true. Egil still remains an extraordinary and a provocative figure, and I would not like to try to tie him into the type of the "warrior of reversal" as it has been developed here.

The Second or Warrior Function within the IE *idéologie* is described in terms of the typical warrior-hero. This hero is a solipsist, who "is what he is": his stance is automatically confrontational and unthinkingly so, and yet his pre-programmed and statuesque poses may be interrupted by the most furious and insensate violence (*furor, berserksgangr*). He requires direction. In the classical IE tripartite structure this direction comes from the sovereign First Function, and yet included in

(29) EgS: 128.
(30) EgS: 57-61, 126.
(31) EgS: 239.

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the Second Function is a mode and character – the "warrior of reversal" – which can under certain circumstances provide this necessary guidance.

So Tale, in the essentially acephalous heroic society of the Bosnian border, provides intelligence, plan, and direction (and magical craft) to his heroic *bulyukbashas*. Cei of the Welsh *mabinogi* is more complex: he is, it seems, "two-souled," and the second of these "souls" is operative in Cei's Heroic Trickster role, as played out in the adventures of "Culhwych and Olwen" but not thereafter. A diminution of the persona of the reversed warrior is possible at this point, for in the imaginative triumph of the chivalric warrior-king the reversed warrior is converted into a comic figure (as Rainouart and the Coward Knight are converted) and both intelligence and magical craft have been extruded from him.

But in a second scenario, one hinted at in Cei's angry response to an 'unjust' Arthur and seen most dramatically in *Egil's Saga*, the reversed warrior appears to react to another malformation in the IE *idéologie*, a malformation which involves the loss, in the First Function, *of the Varunaic mode itself.*(32) Sovereignty, in other words, does not display the "mysterious" range of potencies which must support and balance naked force. To Egil the kings of Norway are law-kings, sword-kings in the Mitral mode, but not simultaneously magician-kings of the Odinnic pattern (we recall that in Egil's near-fatal controntation with Eirik Blood-Axe it is not the king who uses magic, but his witch-queen, Gunnhild).(33) Since *balanced* direction from the First Function is lacking, Egil as "warrior of reversal" (and as "warrior of Odinn") must fall back on his own knowledge of mysterious craft, while at the same time breaking

(32) Referring specifically to G. Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna: essai sur deux représentations indo-europeennes de la soverainété* (Paris, 1948); also D.A. Miller, "Royauté et ambiguité sexualle," *Annales E.S.C.* Nos. 3/4 (Mai-Aout, 1971): 639-652.

(33) EgS: 156. Just what constitute the characteristics of a "bad King" in the Scandinavian context is a matter of importance, and one I hope to take up soon. For the present, I suggest that one of the charges levelled against the "bad King" by the sagamen was his manipulation of the *berserkir*. Harald Fair-Hair had his Wolf-Skins (in *Grettir's Saga,* translation by D. Fox and H. Pálsson, University of Toronto Press, Toronto; 1974: 4); King Eirik, a malignant figure in *Göngu-Hrolf's Saga*, is aided by sorcerers and berserkers (in this saga-romance the two types are combined: *Göngu-Hrolf's Saga*, translation by H. Pálsson and P. Edwards, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1980: caps. 2-3, pp. 30-33).

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from and derogating the stoic, controlled and unquestioning obedience of the warrior of Thorr.

The Heroic Trickster as I have briefly examined him is not a single, clearly-defined figure so much as a constellation of characteristics, only a few of which I have been able to take up here.(34) In type, however, these characteristics oppose or contrast with the outer marks and inner being of the normative IE warrior. "Blackened" or ugly, churlish or gross in manner, he shows forth a grumpy individuality, a particular and perverse *brio* which sets him quite apart, while his activity in the zone of the rational and of the magical seems to put him at the very pivot of the three *Fonctions*. For myself I find him a collection of images of great fascination, and I believe that he will repay continued and deeper investigation.

(34) For example, the "mischievous" figure, such as Efnisien in the *mabinogi* "Branwen Daughter of Lyr" or Hagen in the *Niebelungenlied*.

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THE MYTHOLOGY OF LOCH NEAGH

By William Sayers

The legendary Irish history of the *dindshenchas* accounts for the creation of Lochs Neagh and Ree by the eruption of wells formed when the migrating princes Eochu and Rib fail to obey injunctions concerning magical packhorses loaned them by the Otherworld figures Oengus and Midir. The tales are to be related to the myth of the bestowal of legitimate territorial sovereignty on the king-elect by the (disguised) transfunctional goddess and to the ritual practices preserved in the Irish royal inauguration, the Vedic *aśvamedha,* and Roman October Horse.

Loch Neagh, draining through the River Bann into the North Channel, is the largest body of water in Ireland. Situated in the historical province of Ulster, it lies at the center of a huge basaltic palteau which collapsed due to the evacuation of great quantitites of liquid rock. A large valley formed on the north-south axis, its floor continuing to sink until it lay some 1200 feet below sea level. Sediment drained in to fill this depression and the present lake is only 40 to 50 feet deep, save for the north-eastern corner. The lake is bounded by a low shoreline, making for a largely undramatic landscape. Yet the lake is claimed to have uncommon characteristics. "Loch shootings", unexplained booming noises, are regularly reported. Silicified wood was found on the shores, giving rise to the Belfast peddlers' cry: "Loch Neagh hones! Loch Neagh hones! You put 'em in sticks and you take 'em out stones" (Praeger 1937: 95). This supposed property of the lake, turned wood to stone, was known in the Middle Ages as one of the "Wonders of Ireland". Another long-lived tradition associated the lake with a sunken kingdom. In the last century Thomas Moore wrote: "On Loch Neagh's banks, as the fisherman strays, / When the clear cold eve's declining, / He sees the round towers of other days / In the wave beneath him shining" ("Let Erin Remember the Days of Old").

This article will attempt to go back to the origin of these "round towers". The title is a conscious borrowing from an article by the great Irish historian Eóin mac Néill and from a note of rebuttal by the equally eminent philologist Osborn Bergin, both published in 1930. Due consideration will be given later to the issues of contention between the two scholars. At this juncture, a more general observation by Bergin may serve to

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put into relief the methodological advances that have been made since their exchange. Bergin wrote of the type of texts that treat of Loch Neagh and other topographical features:

> Anyone who studies the way in which these stories have grown, how incidents are borrowed from the sagas, persons transferred, combined and duplicated with little respect for consistency, legends freely invented to account for place-names, plots fashioned out of etymological guesses, picturesque details and even definite dates used to fill the void of the unknown, will be cautious in using the highly schematized compositions of the eleventh century, to say nothing of a thirteenth century romance, in support of the hypothetical reconstruction of pagan beliefs for which there is no warrant in the older literature (Bergin 1930a: 251).

A cautionary note, harshly sounded. Yet the pioneering work of Georges Dumézil, so ably continued by a growing number of scholars, offers encouragement that "these stories" may be subject to renewed scrutiny and, compared with the evidence of other cultures in the Indo-European sphere, may indeed yield some deepened understanding of "pagan beliefs".

The early Irish literary evidence which will form the basis for this study is drawn from the *dindshenchas,* a characteristically Irish genre in prose and verse, devoted to place-name lore.(1) A concern for typonyms and itineraries permeates much of early Irish narrative, often, from a modern perspective, to the detriment of the latter. Bowen (1975) had identified three principles in the formation of the etiological toponymic legends of the *dindshenchas:* lexical fission, a kind of wordplay which yields two explanatory terms (cf. certain Vedic theonyms), the "discovery" of an eponymous hero or heroine whose fate is associated with the topographic feature, or the invention of a longer explanatory story. Names here are not arbitary, but are perceived as the result and record of a dynamic process initiated by

(1) See Bowen (1975) for a brief introduction and historical inventory form the main manuscripts. He wrotes: "However likely it is that the intellectual and literary impulse behind the *Dindshenchas* is deeply rooted in Celtic antiquity, we encounter the text, and must study it, as the product of a culture which has mostly lost touch with its primitive past and has become not only literate but bookish" (116). Bergin's warning is resounded, but with an important new qualification. The entry for Tuag Inbir (137) would have been usefully complemented by a bracketed reference to Loch nEchach (cf. the treatment of Loch Ri).

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divine and human action. At the same time the name, with its identifying function, fixes the hill or river on the synchronic mental map of Ireland and in the diachronic flow of early Irish history. The traditions of Loch Neagh fall into the third category of narratives.

Springs, wells, rivers, lakes, estuaries and bays are the subject of a large number of *dindshenchas.* This is hardly surprising, given the geography and climate of Ireland. *Tomadma* 'eruptions', the sudden creation of such bodies of water, was, in fact, a sub-genre of Irish literature, along with *táin* 'cattleraids', *tochmarca* 'wooings', *aithid* 'deaths', etc. The two perserved lists of tales, however, give a total of only three *tomadma,* making it the least represented among the categories of tales which were expected to be known by the poets (Thurneysen 1921: 21). The lists do include *Tomaidm Locha Echach, the Eruption of the Loch of Eochu.*

The fullest version of the story of Loch Neagh is given in a prose tale with interpolated verse in the Book of Leinster, under the title *Aided Echach meic Maireda, the Death of Eochu son of Maired.* (2) It should be noted that the account is presented as an *aided* 'death-tale', not as an 'eruption' or 'elopement', nor with the formal opening question and answer that characterized the briefer prose *dindshenchas.* The story may be summarized as follows. Eochu, son of the Munster king Maired, elopes with his step-mother Eibliu, accompanied by his brother Rib and two troops of men, horses and cattle. Going north, they part ways on the advise of their seers. Rib goes west into the territory of Midir, an Otherworld chief. Midir kills their horses, then appears and loans them a single packhorse to carry all their gear. When it stops at their destination, its urine flows, causing a spring to burst forth. Rib and his troop are drowned in the flood, which forms Loch Ree on the Shannon. Eochu and his followers, on the other hand, proceed into the territory of Oengus, the divine Mac ind Óg. Oengus appears and orders them to leave. When they do not, he kills their horses and threatens to kill them unless they quit his land. Eochu complains that they cannot advance without horses. Oengus offers

(2) Ed. and trans. by O'Grady (1892), subsequently reedited by Best and Bergin (1929). Eochu and Eochaid, originally distinct names, had become confused by the period of these texts. Eochu will be used throughout this study. *Loch* was originally a neuter, yielding a proclitic *-n-*: Loch nEnchach, whence Loch Neagh.

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them a giant packhorse, but enjoins them not to unload it on the way nor to let it halt, lest it pass water and be the cause of their deaths. On a Sunday in the middle of the harvest month they reach Liathmuine, 'grey bramble-bush', in Ulster. The men unload the great horse in a single sweep, but none turns its head back the way they came. The horse urinates and a well is formed. Eochu puts a cover on it, builds a house over it, and sets a woman on guard. He contests with Muiredach son of Fiacha and assumes the rule of half of Ulster. Some nineteen years later, the guardian of the well is negligent and *linnmuine* 'urine pool' rises and covers Liathmuine to form Loch Neagh. Eochu and all his people are drowned, save for two sons, Conaing and Curnan, and a daughter, Lí Ban.

Lí Ban lives safely on in a bower at the bottom of the well, but eventually prays that she may be transformed in order to leave her refuge. Her wish granted, she travels the world's seas for 300 years with the body of a salmon and the head of a woman, accompanied by her lapdog in the form of an otter. At the end of this period, she surfaces to make a rendezvous a year later with St. Beoán. When, in a year's time, she is taken in the nets, there is some dispute as to who may claim her. This resolved, she travels on land in a water-filled vessel drawn by deer, receives baptism and the new name of Muigein 'sea birth' or Muirgeilt 'sea prodigy', and is taken up to heaven.

The versions of the tale that are given in the *dindshenchas* are briefer, although fuller in certain important ways, and do not contain the sotry of the mermaid Lí Ban. They include accounts in verse from the collection generally called the *Metrical Dindshenchas* (Gwynn 1924), with separate poems on Loch Ree (henceforth *MD:LR*) and Loch Neagh (*MD:LN*), the latter incorporated in a poem on Tuag Inber, and versions in prose in collections edited as the *Rennes Dindshenchas* (Stokes 1895-96a), with items on Loch Ree (*RD:LR*), and Tuag Inber and Loch Neagh (*RD:LN*), and the *Edinburgh Dindshenchas* (Stokes 1893) with a single entry on Loch Neagh (*ED:LN*). In addition, there is the earlier noted presence of the Loch Neagh title in the two lists of tales, brief mention in the Annals of Tigernach (Stokes 1895-96b) and the Book of Ballymote (Mac Carthy 1892), in the Irish version of Nennius' *Historia Britonum* (Todd 1848), in the Laud genealogies (Meyer 1911), and in the glossary traditionally associated with O'Mulcroney (Stokes 1898). These sources will be considered in greater detail below. Here, it

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suffices to call attention to the relatively high number of references to the tale of Eochu, whether because of the size of the geographical feature thereby explained or the compelling nature of the underlying myth, this king Eochu being otherwise unknown. Noteworthy, too, is the persistence of the quasi-proverbial expression *linnmuine tar liathmuine* 'pool of urine over grey bramble-brake'.

There is one other important source for the story of Loch Neagh, one which will put a new perspective on efforts to explain it. In his *Topographia Hibernie* (O'Meara 1949, II: 42), Giraldus Cambrensis describes a great lake which had a marvelous origin, but does not name it or Eochu. Yet he does refer to the addiction of the former population to the vice of bestiality, and to a saying that a certain well had to be kept covered. The remaining story of the woman's negligence and the consequent eruption, with no mention of the mermaid, are as in the Irish accounts. Giraldus is also the first written source to refer to the round towers to be seen beneath the waves. In this same work the Welsh cleric has left a much-disputed account of the consecration ceremony of a nothern Irish king. His allegations of the ritual cohabitation of the king-elect with a white mare, the sacrifice of the mare, and preparation of a vat of broth in the king bathes and from which he drinks without the aid of a vessel, sharing the broth and meat with his people, has been associated with the Vedic *aśvamedha*, involving the ritual sacrifice of a white stallion, dismemberment of the stallion, and sacrificial offerings to various deities. The presence and absence of water plays and important role in the Indian ceremonies. A reflex in possible parallel of this ritual practive is seen in the Roman *October equus* with its horse race, sacrifice, and sprinkled blood. The accounts of these three religious observances have been the subject of considerable scholarly debate, and a satisfying synthesizing explanation has begun to emerge.(3) This evidence and these conclusions can now be

(3) Le Roux (1963) minimizes Giraldus' account, admitting only that the white horse was of unspecified sex, that the king behaved like an animal, and that horse meat and broth were consumed in the course of a ritual bath attended by the tribe. Similarly, Vanggaard (1979) and Pascal (1981) see the October horse in isolation, essentially a hybrid accumulation of Roman ritual practices without PIE antecedents. Gonda (1978) views the *aśvamedha* in less exclusive terms, although the *locus* remains on Vedic India. Dumézil's study of "Bellator equos" (1954) initiated a more syncretistic approach, continued in his *Mythe et épopée III* (1973), and, without reference to the tripartite ideology of the IE, by Scholz (1970). Of much greater

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drawn on to elucidate the mythogeme underlying the tale of Eochu and Loch Neagh.

Given that only the *aided* has the story of Eochu's daughter, this narrative segment will provisionally be excluded from the study of the complex of motifs which culminate in the eruption of the well and the formation of the lake. The names Eochu and Eochaid, both of which occur in the texts, are directly related to OIr *ech* 'horse', and are best seen as no more specific than 'horsey', but with a range from 'like a horse' to 'having, using horses' (Bergin 1930b). Both forms are frequent royal names, and Eochu is one of the epithets of the Dagda, the 'good god', in the expression Eochu Ollathir Ruadrofessa 'horsey all-father red-(all-)knowing' (de Vries 1963). Rib (Ríb?) is otherwise unattested, but may tentatively be referred to OIr. *ríab* 'stripe, streak', and its derivatives *ríbán* 'streak, stripe' and *ríabach* striped, brindled', used of the markings of domestic animals. This suggests that the opening situation of the story, the two brothers and escaping female relative, may be a reflex of the myth of the divine twins, well attested in Celtic tradition (Puhvel 1970, O'Brien 1982). Full discussion of dioscurism will be deferred until later. Whatever the case that can be made for the motif, it is evident that the story starts on the level of the third function. Elopement at the woman's initiative ('elopement' as opposed to male-initiated 'wooing'),(4) and the herds and flocks overshadow consideration of the brothers as warriors. Cattleraids were a normal feature of early Irish society and literature, and the *crech ríg* 'royal prey' was a ritual expedition of the newly installed king. Eochu and Rib, on the other hand, have chosen to become outlanders by leaving their tribe, taking cattle with them. In the inversion of a cattleraid, they occupy new land not through battle and conquest, but by allowing their horses and cattle to graze on the land on which they have trespassed (such grazing was a recognized means of laying claim to the land in Ireland; Watkins 1982: 221). Eochu

relevance for the present study are Puhvel (1955 and 1970) and O'Flaherty (1979-80). For a recent review of the archaeological evidence for PIE equine sacrifice, see Mallory (1981). In Ireland the consumption of horseflesh, apart from the royal ceremony, appears to have been banned. In Adomnán's *Life of St. Columba* (Anderson and Anderson 1960: 253) the saint predicts that a penitent who is unwilling to submit to his regime will one day be discovered eating mare's flesh among thieves (cf. the Icelandic law preserving horseflesh, *Íslendingabók*, 7).

(4) Rees and Rees (1961: 293) describe elopements as the mythological inversion of marriage from the female standpoint, wooings, from the male.

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and Rib may, however, be viewed as candidates for 'promotion' to a higher functional level, in the sense in which Dumézil has used the term. How well they meet the veiled tests which face them will be the measure of their success. Initiation of the story on the third level also recalls the successive emergence of the three functions, and the establishment of dynasties that build from level three to one.(5)

The briefer *kindshenchas* offer a considerable amount of relatively consistent detail which will assist in better understanding the *aided*. *MD:LR* has the two troops come out of the west by boat; *RD:LR* says that Rib went south; *ED* and *RD:LN* have them moving north from the legendary Irluachra in Kerry. *MD:LN* agrees with the *aided* in making them sons of the king of Cashel and their itinerary northbound.(6) *MD:LR* states that it will leave the story of Eochy to one side, as it is well known. The *aided* has the two troops part at *belach dá líac*. While the toponym may mean no more than 'way of the two stones', *belach* also meant 'pass' and may suggest a trial or test, and *lía* was used of the flagstones on which Irish kings were inaugurated. If the latter reading is accepted, this would be the first of the numerous kinship motifs in the tale. In the poem devoted to his lake, Rib is a more martial figure than in the *aided,* although no explicit fighting is mentioned. Rib angers the fairy chief Midir on whose plain (or playground) he allowed his herds to graze. In the *MD:LN* the same is told of Eochu, who had stopped by the *bruig* of Oengus. The parallelism is better understood when it is recalled that Midir has raised Oengus, Mac ind Óg 'the Young Son', during the latter's estrangement from his father, the Dagda, and was also instrumental in helping Oengus win *Bruig na Bóinne* (Newgrange) from his father. The theme of usurpation of property is then continued in the Eochy/Rib stories.

(5) St. Ciarán founds a monastery on the shore of Loch Ree after dispossessing the druids by lighting a fire, a first function action (Rees and Rees 1961: 157).

(6) The reference to the story of Eochu in the Laud genealogy *De Causis Torchi Corco Ché* (Meyer: 1911) relates that the tribe of the Corco Ché, under king Cochaid, was settled in the area later covered by Loch Neagh. Eochaid died in the flooding, and the tribe migrated to Cashel. The *aided,* too, at an awkward splice between a synopsis and longer acccount of the Lí Ban story, refers to the eruption of Loch Neagh as causing a dispersal of Ulstermen throughout Ireland. The Eochu legend may here be being used to explain the presence of northern Irish tribes, perhaps descendants of a later wave of Goidelic invaders, in the southern part of Ireland.

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Collating the various versions of the tales, one may conclude that the landowner first warns the interlopers off his land, then kills their cattle (level three), and, after an interval (an hour, a day), their horses (level two), finally threatening to take their own lives (level one). The loss of the animals is characterized as a *plág* 'plague' (*MD:LR, RD:LR*), a term whose full import will be discussed later (cf. the pestilence that Apollo sends to kill the Achaians' horses in the *Iliad,* Bl. I). In *RD:LR* and *ED:LN* Midir and Oegnus appear before the brothers in the guise of hospitallers (*brugach*). These were rich landowners capable of providing a king with hospitality on his circuits. They were then powerful representatives of the third function. Oengus (< *oen gus* 'single force'; cf. the reduction of the brothers' horses to one horse) was the dispenser of vital forces and the protector of the community. In other tales he appears as a herdsman (O'Railly 1952). Elsewhere in Celtic mythology, Oengus/Mac ind Óg and his British counterpart Maponos(7) have clear associations with horses, and with healing and votive springs.(8) A case can be made for viewing the divine twins as coalesced in a single figure, Oengus in Ireland, Maponos in Britain (O'Brien 1982: 126). In other tales, too, Oengus and Midir are initially antagonistic, then conciliatory towards humans with whom they interact (Rees and Rees 1961: 282). Their divine power is, however, never fully engaged and human destiny remains subject to human choice. The brothers' situation also exemplifies the ambivalent stance of IE peoples toward outsiders: potentially both enemies and guests (Polomé 1982). When ordered to leave the territory on which they have encroached, Eochu and Rib respond that they now have no means of transport. The horse that is offered them is called a packhorse *airech (MD:LR, RD:LR)* and *gerrand (aided, ED:LN).* The latter term also seems to have had the connotation 'nag', and may have meant 'gelding' (from *gerr* 'short').(9) The horses then, like their

(7) Hamp (1974) proposes that the OIr Mac ind Óg is derived, like Maponos, from PC **Makwkwonos,* and that the entire corpus of the *Mabinogion* originally dealt with this god, his descendants, reflexes, etc.

(8) Mac Cana 1970: 33, Ross 1967: 20.

(9) Relatively little can be gleaned from the Irish texts on the practice of castration of domestic animals. When Ercoil challenges Loegaire to battle in *Fled Bricrend* (*The Feast of Bricriu,* Henderson 1899: par. 69), his *gerran* kills Loegaire's *ech,* but is later killed by Cu Chulainn's Grey of Macha. As the latter is clearly supernatural, this may represent a functional sequence of 2-3-1. One may also wonder whether the teams of horses used with early Irish chariots may not have consisted of a stallion and a gelding.

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owners, are associated with the third function, and possibily with sterility. Nonetheless, the horses are magical animals, the largest of their kind in Ireland (cf. Norse Slepnir), and well able to carry all the brothers' goods. Midir and Oengus penalize the intruders who have ventured on semi-sacred property, but they also provide assistance, albeit under quite specific conditions.

Before examining these conditions in detail, one may usefully recall the complex of associations which the horse and in IE mythology. It would be superfluous to document these here, although brief mention can be made of water and the sea, the sun fertility and death (resumed, for example, but not expressed solely, in the image of the horse-drawn chariot of the life-giving sun, rising in the eastern sea and passing into the darkness of the western sea). Closer to the present topic is the definition provided by Jaan Puhvel (1970: 172): "the basic Indo-European equine myth involves the mating of a kingship-class representative with the hippomorphous transfunctional goddess, and the creation of twin offspring belonging to the third level estate." One Irish manifestation of the Great Goddess was as a territorial sovereignty divinity who might appear as a beautiful young woman, but also as a hag whom the hero's bold kiss transforms, a maddened forest-wanderer, or a nobly born girl fostered among herdsmen (Mac Cana 1955-56). Were the goddess to take on hippomorphic guise, the candidate for kingship should be as ready to recognize her in a white mare as in a common, yet uncommon, packhorse.

The conditions imposed by Oengus/Midir on Eochu/Rib for the loan of the packhorse are best preserved in *MD:LR.* They are told that the horse must not be allowed to urinate, to go astray, or to lie down before they reach their destination, and must be sent back to its owner promptly, with its bridle still in place. In closing, Midir returns to the first of these injunctions, saying that if the horse stales, Rib's children and his kingdom will be drowned. In the other texts, the conditions are less clearly stated and some can be inferred only from the description of the failure to observe them. The chief warning, in the light of subsequent events, and the one that is present in all of the narratives, is that the horse must not pass water. Although the instructions given by Oengus and Midir have some of the quality of *gessa* or tabus, with the exception of the ban on urine, they superficially seem to call only for the proper

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handling of the borrowed animal. In failing to follow the instructions, neither Eochu nor Rib faces the ethical dilemna which leads such heroes as Cú Chulainn and Conaire to break their *gessa.* Irish literature has other examples of supernatural horses of great size and strength, and other examples of injuctions associated with horses, such as not mounting a horse in certain places or crossing certain fords on horseback. But the proscription of urination seems to be unique. Its evaluation is made the more difficult by the near total absence of record of Celtic ritual practice. In a review of the conditions, that concerning the bridle may tentatively be assigned to the first function and leadership, the warning against straying somewhat less convincingly with the second, in the sense of control over the horse's extraordinary power, and the injunction against lying down and urination with the third function, bodily needs and appetites.(10) In the *aśvamedha* ritual, the body of the sacrificial horse was marked off in three sections, head, forequarters and hindquarters, and associated with the three queens and their clear functional affinities: titular first wife, favorite wife, and "rejected" subordinate wife. It seems legitimate to conclude that the principal admonition concerning the horse, that it not stale, is to be ascribed to the third functional level, and represents the extension of third function thematics in the narrative. Indeed, it may well be the key to the myth.

Body fluids – tears, spittle, mucus, sweat, milk, blood, semen, urine – are all highly charged symbols, essentials of the body and in a sense microcosms of it. They also pass beyond its frontiers and are thus exposed to the influence of the external surrounding world. Many of them are also symbolic of, or a

(10) The prohibition against the Roman *flamen dialis* mounting horses is well known. Considering other injunctions related to this figure, the martial and chthonian aspects of the horse are doubtless in play here. A lesser known example is found in Bede's *History* (II: 13) in the account of the conversion of the Northumbrians to Christianity. After his conversion, the Anglo-Saxon priest Cefi mounts a stallion, where earlier only mares were permitted his function, and rides to the pagan sanctuary, violating it by throwing in a spear. Weapons, attributes of the second function, appear to have been banned from the sanctuary. There are numerous references to iron being banned from peaceful IE ritual ceremonies such as that of Nerthus (Polomé 1954, Dumézil 1973). In the matter of the horse straying, the Irish appear to have had a preoccupation with straight routes; see W. Sayers, "Three Charioteering Gifts in *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and *Mesca Ulad*," *Eriu* 32 (1981), 163-67. The reference in one text to the horse, after straying, coming home from the west may be a suggestion of its fatal role, the west being associated with death, and with the Goddess (Lyle 1982).

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means to, interaction with other individuals. In myth, some are even interchangeable. Liquids play a central role in the three other equine rites earlier referred to: broth in the Irish inauguration, semen in the Vedic sacrifice and, in the Roman rite, blood from the tail sprinkled on an alter. Compare, too, the importance of cow's urine in Iranian ritual (Littleton 1982: 247).

Continence can be seen as a means of heightening powers, as in the Indian stallion's year of wandering and sexual abstinence, mirrored in the king's chaste night before the final ceremony. But more significant than the horse's incontinence, which would have been nearly impossible to control, may be the circumstances of it. Eochu and Rib, disregarding the prescribed treatment, allow the horses to lie down and rest with them. It is then that the horses pass water, that is, in the company of men.(11) The IE peoples appear to have attached great significance to the proper disposal of cut hair and nails (Lincoln 1977). These beliefs may well have extended to other aspects of personal hygiene as concerns body wastes. A possibly proscribed interaction of human and animal body functions appears the best perspective for equating the urination motif in the Irish tales with the bestiality in Giraldus' account.(12) Such

(11) Compare the Vedic and Roman divination practices and injunctions against draught animals producing excrement while under yoke (Littleton 1982: 110). In Dumézil's reading (1979: 283) of *Ṛg Veda* 10: 102, the hymn of Mudgala and Múdgalānī, the couple win the chariot race against the king, despite their use of a farm cart and single bull, by provoking it to urinate during the race. This earthward-directed action, on the level of the third function, gives Múdgala an unconventional but irrefutable claim to the land of the race course and hereby to the victory. Although Dumézil claims that the association of the yoke and defecation is found only in the Vedic hymn and Roman ritual injunction, the Irish material does appear to stand in a complementary relationship. The predictions of Midir and Oengus offer a point of contact with the Roman divination rite. Admittedly the horses of Eochu and Rib stale after being unloaded, i.e., when no longer in human service, but the territories that they claim, and for a limited time hold, are those surrounded by the wells formed by the urine. For an interesting Irish parallel to Múdgala, note the warrior Illiach in *Táin Bó Cúailgne,* who goes to battle naked in a derelict chariot piled high with stones, his privates hanging down through the framework.

Note too Watkins' discussion (1982: 115) of the Vedic and Greek expressions 'to piss standing up', which he suggests may be a formulaic expression of an IE taboo. If cut hair and nail parings were ritually returned to the earth (buried, rolled in a ball of earth, Lincoln 1977), some symbolic gesture may also have accompanied urination. Before the Second Battle of Mag Tured (Stokes 1891: 82) a druid of the Tuatha dé Danann promises to weaken the enemy's men and horses by binding the urine in their bodies.

(12) Giraldus' explicitness in this case (*gens ab antiquis temporibus uitiosissima; et precipuo uitil coeundi cum bestiis*), compared with the much-debated ambiguity of the inauguration scene (*ad quod sullimandus ille non in principem sed in beluam,*

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Vestals (Rome), broth-cauldron and urine-well (Ireland).

There is another instance in the Irish tradition of a body of water formed from urine, and it is a significant one. The great epic *Táin Bó Cúailgne* closes with the fight between the bulls Donn Cuailgne, the Dark of Cooley, and Finnbennach Ai, the White-horn of Ai. This has been recognized as a reflex of the myth of the primal man and king sacrificed by his priestly brother to form the matter of the cosmos and establish the three stages (Lincoln 1981, Lyle 1982). At the end of the contest both bulls are dead and parts of their bodies are spread across the Irish landscape to form important topographical features. In the final battle among the humans, which immediately procedes the battle of bulls, Queen Medb, one of many representatives of the IE Great Goddess and of the more specifically Irish goddess of territorial sovereignty, must withdraw from the battle to pass menstrual blood and urine. She is guarded by her lover, Fergus mac Róich 'son of big horse', an exiled king of Ulster now in the service of Medb and her consort, Ailill, rulers of Connaught. As all the figures in this apparently very archaic part of the epic have taken on giant proportions (Fergus, for example, hews off the top of three hills),(13) the voluminous flow from the queen creates three dykes called Fual Medba 'Medb's Urine'. As with the bulls, separations from the primordial body became the matter of geomorphic features. In other cultures the excretions from the body of the Great Goddess form the basis of agriculture.

Although Rib and his troop are immediately killed by the flooding well in the syncretistic deathtale in prose, the individual *dindshenchas* have both Rib and Eochu capping the wells that formed from the horses' urine. After covering the wells, they build houses over them, and one poem even has Rib sleeping directly over the well (cf. the bestiality motif in Giraldus). The containment of cosmic waters by a monster is an important part of Vedic and other cosmogonic myths, and their release is a life-creating action, in some instances also setting the sun in

(13) In this same narrative context, just prior to receiving his sword in return from Ailill, Fergus vows to cut his enemy to pieces in a detailed oath that gives the sequence of a dismemberment, down to finger- and toe-nails. If practised, it would yield exactly 60 body parts. The relevance of this oath to the sacrifice of the primal man and to human sacrifice will be the subject of a future article. Like the strayed horse, the bulls return after the battle from the west; see n. 10, *supra*. In Indian myth, the spilled semen of Prajápati forms a lake (O'Flaherty 1975: 30).

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meetings of the human and animal worlds could take place only under the exceptional circumstances of the hierogamous unions of the Irish and Vedic rites. The appearance of the packhorse and the conditions relative to its use may also be referred to the various circumstances under which the sovereignty goddess appears before the king-elect. The packhorse can be viewed as a hippomorphic representation of the goddess as hag, the injunction against the horse wandering can be referred to the wild woman of the woods, the bridle to the enforced fosterage of the noble girl, and, as noted, the rest and urination to the erotic contacts with the goddess in any of these three forms.

With his failure to control the horse, Eochu has committed a third "sin", to use Dumézil's term. While all three of these examples of non-aggressive laxness can be situated in the third functional mode, a ranking within that mode would make the elopement a sexual, hence third function, sin, the trespassing and attempted territorial conquest, albeit by grazing, a second function sin, and the deficient animal husbandry, a first function ritual offence.

Just as the Irish interdiction against eating horse-flesh (Dumézil 1954: 84) was reversed in the special circumstances of the kingship ceremony, so body wastes, which normally would have been banned from wells (O'Flaherty 1975: 90), become through the inversion of myth, the source of a well. The creation of watercourses and bodies of water through divine and human action is a fairly common motif in Irish legendary history. Most commemorate births, deaths and battles of primitive heroes. Lochs Ree and Neagh, the cause of men's death, are located on or drained by two of the original six rivers of the island, the Shannon and Bann, respectively, generally considered to be reflexes of the Magna Mater. Similarly, the formation of springs and wells is also prominent in early Irish tales. These points of the entry of water into "this world"' were seen as interstices with the Otherworld. The motif was assumed by the Christian hagiographical tradition, and wells and springs have continued as votive sites down to the present day. The following pairings of ritual equine liquid and sacral vessel/site may be compared: semen-queen (India), blood-altar tended by

non in regum sed exlegem, coram omnibus bestialiter accedens, se quoque bestiam profitetur), would suggest that the cohabitation with the mare was pantomimed, rather than real, a view espoused by O'Flaherty (1979-80), although without reference to Giraldus' Loch Neagh story.

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motion. In capping the wells, Rib and Eochu recognize the dangerous quality as predicted in the death threats of Midir and Oengus. Continence was an earlier condition for survival and success; now confinement is an effort to ward off disaster. But in the larger context, "suppressing" the wells and their function must be judged a life-denying action. More significantly, covering the wells closes the door on the Otherworld, which is the ultimate source of the king's truth, *fír flatha,* the divine right by which he rules.(14)

Rib and Eochu were earlier identified as candidates for promotion, moving from the southern servile, feminine half of Ireland, Mug's Half, to the northern, directive, male half, Conn's Half (Rees and Rees 1961: 180). Although they are said to have ruled for 30 and 19 years (calendar associations?), respectively, nothing is recounted of their rule. Only in the case of Eochu is it stated that the territorial claim subsequent to the well incident was made through armed force, giving him half the supremacy of Ulster. In conquering and ruling, they then move through functional level two to one, kingship. What one must question is the legitimacy of their rule. In early Irish belief, the legitimate king, invested with territorial sovereignty, *in flaithius,* ensured not only ritual orthodoxy, justice and security (functional levels one and two— but, equally importantly, prosperity (level three), by his influence over favorable weather, good crops, and fertile animals.(15) Legitimacy was manifest, through designation by the gods, recognition by wise men, and acceptance by the people, and through the reception of royal insignia (Dubuisson 1978). It was not hidden as symbolized by the capped well of the usurper. Although the texts are not explicit on this point, one may posit, pending further consideration of the end of their reigns, that Rib and Eochu lacked royal legitimacy and held their kingdoms through *go* 'falsehood', as a result of their "sins": violation of marriage, of territorial rights, of contractual and ritual practice.

While many of the deathtales are set on the eve of Samhain, the festival marking the beginning of the dark Celtic half-year

(14) See Ó'Cathasaigh (1978: 77) for a discussion of the ultimate common origin of the homonyms *síd* 'fairy mount' and 'peace', and their relation to *fír flatha.* The fairy chieftain Riach (see n. 16, *infra*), in order not to pollute his *síd,* left it to do battle. See too Wagner (1981).

(15) See, for example, the reign of the king of the Fir Bolg, Eochaid mac Eirc (Rees and Rees 1961: 109), and the reign of Conaire Mór (Ó'Cathasaigh 1978). See

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and thus associated with negative, often violent, forces, Rib's well erupts on the eve of Lamas, the first of August and the start of the harvest season (*RD:LR, MD:LR*). Other texts (*aided, MD:LN, RD:LN*) have the troops arriving at their destination and the horse staling in the middle of the harvest month. As the passage of urine and the eruption of the well are thematically linked, the two dates can be seen as identical. Not only do they clearly associate the events with harvest and fertility, Lamas (Irish *lugnasad*), the festival of the god Lug, is particularly associated with the kingship (Le Roux 1962). The special site for this festival was Tailtu, named after the land-clearing goddess figure who later married the archetypically good ruler, Eochaid mac Eirc of the Fir Bolg. This was not a sacrificial holiday, but one when oaths were honored and the king exercised his power. It has also been suggested (Lyle 1982) that the autumn was the brief period of the year most associated with the Goddess, the other seasons having affinities with the three functions (spring: first; summer: second, winter: third).

The third circumstances of the wells' eruption are also not dissimilar to those of their formation. Again, it is an act of negligence, a sin of omission, typical of the third function. It may also signify some ritual malpractice as concerns well maintenance. Further, it is the laxness of a woman, one, in a general sense, in a servile relationship to the king. Her behavior can be seen to suggest the character of the king's rule. Giraldus' account even has her drawn away from the well to attend to her child, yet another third function element.

Many tales with the eruption motif have only a single victim. Here the flood drowns not only the king, but all his people.(16)

additional examples in Dillon (1947), Mac Cana (1955-56) and Bhreathnach (1982). Other royal Eochus did mate successfully with the goddess (Puhvel 1970: 167).

(16) Wholesale extermination by flood is, however, common in the accounts from the "formative" period of the island, as in the *Lebor Gabála Érenn (The Book of the Taking of Ireland)* Rees and Rees 1961: 104, 160). The story of Bóand, who violates the well of Nechtan and is disfigured by the erupting well which forms the river Boyne, is well known and has been the subject of considerable study; see Georges Dumézil (1973) "La saison des rivières," Patrick Ford, "The sell of Nechtan and la 'glorie lumineuse'," in *Myth and Law in Indo-European Antiquity*, ed. Gerald J. Larson (Berkeley, 1974), pp. 67-74, C. Scott Littleton, "Poseidon as a reflex of the source of waters god," *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 1 (1973), 423-40, and W. Sayers, "The Bóand/Nechtan myth in the light of Scandinavian evidence," in *Proceedings of the 1982 General Meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies in Canada* (in press). In another *dindshenchas* (Gwynn *MD,*

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In this it parallels the all-bearing capacity of the packhorse. Giraldus makes the interesting comment that the flood was a judgment of God on the land itself, which had known such crimes and deserved no futher inhabitants. But in the Irish view, the blame is squarely on the king, the land being rather the victim of his rule.

As the goddess of territorial sovereignty is but one aspect of the Great Goddess, it is consistent that she reappear later in a king's or hero's life in the guise of a death goddess (Ramnoux 1954, Bhreathnach 1982). Such objects as the golden cup and red ale that were earlier proferred the king-elect are now replaced by fatal liquids or bodies of water. Drowning, recognized as a third function mode of sacrifice and death (alone or as part of a three-fold death, Ward 1970), is frequently (one of) the means by which the land rids itself of an illegitimate usurper. The deaths of Eochu and Rib by drowning, with the wellshaft the negative image of the goblet, can then be seen to fit into the larger pattern of royal deathtales. Consistent with the third function thematics, the threefold death motif, with its references to all three levels, is not present. In what is surely coincidence as concerns placenames, the Norse raider Turges (ON Turgestr) seized sovereignty in the north of Ireland in the 840's after raiding the surrounding countryside from ships based in Loch Neagh and Loch Ree. After his capture, he was drowned in "Loch Uair", possibly Loch Owel in Westmeath (Todd 1867: 224).(17)

The texts are at variance as concerns survivors of the floods. In none of them are any descendants of Rib spared, but in three versions of the Eochu story one or more persons are named. In the *aided* a daughter Lí Ban (the mermaid), a mentally retarded son Curnan, and a second son, Conaing, from whom the Dál mBuain and Dál Sailne septs are descended. *RD:LN* names the sons Dairu and, like *MD:LN,* Conaing, again the ancestor of the

TLS 11 (1013), 324-29, and Stokes 1895-96: 273-76) Riach builds a house over a well where he had placed the heads of slain warriors. He too is drown when the well erupts. Here and elsewhere the eruption can be seen as a reversal of the act of deposing votive offerings. Ross (1967: 33) wonders if this is a memory of temples built over wells. As noted earlier, the creation of springs and wells is a frequent motif in hagiographical literature.

(17) A schematic organization of the functional level attributes of prosperous and failed reigns might yield: ROYAL INSIGNIA: I white shirt, II spear, III shoe; or cup (sun, molten metal), diadem, cauldron, PROSPERITY: moderate sun, iron banned, plants watered by dew, FAILURE: drought/fire, war, floods, DEATH: fire, arms, drowning.

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two tribes. The Dál Sailne have not been identified, although the Dál mBuain are said to have occupied the area along the River Lagan, flowing eastward to Belfast. The *aided* also refers briefly, in what appears an independent summary of the story, to the dispersal of Ulstermen throughout Ireland following the flood of Loch Neagh. The entry in the Laud genealogies mentions migration southward to Cashel. Although genealogy was of primary importance in early Irish society, the matter of survivors and descendants does not appear necessarily related to the mythological component of the tales, except in the sense that the kingdoms did not pass in succession.

Luid linnmuine tar liathmuine. Urine pool went over bramblebrake. For Eochu and Rib the eruption of the wells was a tragedy. For the audience of the original tale it may have seemed just retribution. In fact, the long-term consequences of their actions may not necessarily have been negative. The placename Liathmuine, used of a few other locations in Ireland (Hogan 1910), means 'grey bramble-bush'. As a symbol it suggests asperity, impenetrability, barrenness. It is perhaps not too farfetched to compare it to the *gaste pays* of the Grail story or the wasteland at the beginning of *Compert Con Culainn, The Birth of Cú Chulainn.*(18) The urine pool, *linnmuine,* on the other hand, with its association with animal dung, is suggestive of fertilization and, if the disinfectant properties of urine were known to the Irish, of purification. The eruption suggests expansive, regenerative life forces. Normal wells were also associated with fertility and offerings made to that end. Eochu and Rib may even be viewed as sacrificial figures, their immersion and "dissolution" in water marking a new beginning. On a more practical level, lakes and rivers must have been important sources of food. The descriptions of prosperous reigns make frequent references to the abundance of fish. Giraldus, too, comments on the large catches the fishermen made on Loch Neagh. The creation of two new lochs would also have enhanced the flow of the feminine rivers Shannon and Bann.

Mún 'urine' is less common than *fúal,* the word used in the

(18) In a prophecy reminiscent of *Vǫluspá,* a bad reign is described as follows: "an evil world is now at hand: in which men shall be in bondage, women free; mast wanting, woods smooth, blossoms bad; winds many, wet summer, green corn; much cattle, scant milk; dependants burdensome in every country; hogs lean, chiefs wicked; bad faith, chronic killing; a world withered, raths in number" (*Aided Dhiarmanda: The Death of King Dermot,* O'Grady 1892: I, 80, II, 85).

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course of the story. Old Irish also had *fúalascach* 'bush, brake, thicket'. This association may have strengthened the phonetic link between *liathmuine* and *linnmuine*.(19) *Fúalang* 'mental derangement' (originating in the lower body?) was also a characteristic of the sovereignty goddess in her guise of wild woman of the woods. The earlier suggestion that *linnmuine tar liathmuine* was seen as the kernel of the Eochu story gains support from the fact that the expression is found in even the briefest references to Eochu/Loch Neagh, such as in the Annals of Tigernach, the Book of Ballymote, the Laude genealogy, and O'Mulcroney's glossary. Giraldus refers to a "saying" among the people of the district that the well could be a source of disaster. This appears an echo of the Irish phrase, here transformed into a cautionary maxim.

All accounts of the fate of Eochu and Rib, with the exception of the *aided,* end with the eruption of the wells and the formation of the lakes. This must be considered relatively weighty evidence that the Lí Ban story was not originally associated with that of Eochu and Rib. Even in the *aided* the narrative seems awkwardly spliced and Eochu is given a new epithet *finn* 'white, fair'. To the medieval compiler, the mermaid story, despite its associations with the pagan *tír faoi thonn* 'land beneath the wave', another expression of the Otherworld, must have offered an attractive means to round off the Eochu story with the exemplary tale of the long-lived mermaid who finally chooses Christian baptism (water ritual) and is thus recovered from the water which drowned her father. The resemblance of the name Lí Ban to the name of the river Bann, which flows out of Loch Neagh, may have helped to attract the tale. On the other hand, other brief references to Lí Ban do make her the daughter of Eochu mac Maired (O.Grady 1892: I, 484, II, 532). Of greater interest perhaps, although beyond the bounds of the present study, is the image of the mermaid in a water-filled vessel, transported through the region on a wagon drawn by deer. Deer often appear in Irish tradition as a kind of Otherworld cattle and are associated with Flidais, goddess of wild things (Ross 1967: 326). This merits full comparison with Tacitus' account of the goddess Nerthus, sprinkled with water, taken in a heifer-drawn wagon on a circuit of the region, then

(19) Watkins (1982) provides a valuable perspective for assessing the impact and durability of such an encapsuling expression.

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bathed and returned to her sanctuary (Polomé 1954, Ward 1970: 125). There may possibly have been some ritual practice of this kind associated with Loch Neagh, independently of the origin tale. Giraldus in his chapter on the lake writes of a fish more or less the shape of a salmon that was too large to move and was consequently cut up and carried through the district. He stresses that it originated in the lake, not the sea. The name Lí Ban 'splendor of women' also figures in *Serglige Con Culainn, the Wasting Sickness of Cú Chulainn,* where she is the wife of the Otherworld ruler Labraid Luath.(20)

Mac Néill (1930) and, in a less detailed way, O'Rahilly (1946: 291), saw in Eochu an underworld divinity whose original kingdom lay beneath Loch Neagh. When the myth was euhemerized as Christian legendary history, the story took on the trappings now associated with it. Mac Néill even equated this Eochu with the Dagda, making Loch Neagh the domain to which his son Oengus relegated him after an unsuccessful attempt to regain Bruig na Boinne. More recently, Wagner (1981: 20) has argued that Eochu represents an older, non-human image of Manannán the sea god. But the extant versions of the story, with Giraldus excepted, show too much thematic consistency and agreement with each other to be the decayed forms of an original myth about the Lord of the Underworld or Lord of the Sea.

A reference was made above to the Divine Twins, and before attempting to draw the various mythic strands together in a summary, it would be appropriate to evaluate how well the Eochu/Rib stories match the numerous indicators of dioscurism (Ward 1968, O'Brien 1982). Some motifs are clearly missing: they do not have dual paternity, are not associated with swans, do not assist at birth (except that of lakes), or preside over the dance. Proximity to humans is irrelevant as a criterion, given their human natures, and there is only a faint indication of their prowess as warriors. Moving a step closer to resemblances, it can be noted that they are the sons of a king, although not of the sky god. They have no astral nature, save through the intermediary of association with horses. There are, however, clear

(20) The *aided* gives Lí Ban's baptismal name as Muirgein 'sea birth' or Muirgeilt. The latter is glossed by *geilt in mara,* which could be interpreted as 'sea prodigy'. Mac Cana (1955-56: 409) has suggested, although not with specific reference to the Eochu story, 'sea lunatic, fugitive, wanderer', an aquatic equivalent of the sovereignty gooddess in her woods-wnadering guise.

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seasonal affinities, in the dating to the harvest month, and perhaps in the northerly itinerary. There is a hint of role differentiation with 'horsey' Eochu the horseman and warrior, and 'brindled' Rib the more passive cattleman. In the case of the remaining indicators, the motifs of the Eochu/Rib story are perhaps best seen as inversions, a term that has been used earlier in the discussion of sovereignty. Rather than rescuing their sister, they elope with their step-mother. Horses are the means of their deaths, not reflexes of their life and nature. Instead of saving the distressed at sea, they are themselves drowned. Not magic healers, they die from the eruption of springs. They are not divinities of fertility but, it has been argued, creators of infertility. They do not protect and enforce oaths, but neglect the contractual obligations they incur. Finally, the new kingdoms they found are wiped out when they expiate the sins committed in their founding. If this is to be dismissed as literary coincidence or scholarly contrivance, the next question to be faced is whether the story of Rib is more than a simple calque on that of Eochu. Only the *aided* telescopes the two stories, giving prominence to Eochu by having Rib die with the creation of his well, in a reinforcing narrative parallel to the first part of the main story. The other versions give the same history for Rib as for Eochu, with the single exception of the erotic liaison with their step-mother. This seems unlikely to be the result of deficient imagination on the part of the *filid* responsible for *dindshenchas*. On balance, the paired protagonists seem fundamental to the mythogem. Despite the occurrence of dioscuric motifs, it is perhaps more appropriate to view Oengus and, in this context, Midir as the true Irish reflexes of the Divine Twins. Eochu and Rib can then be situated on the epic rather than mythic level.

They have been called third level candidates for promotion. Their test, the meeting with the divinity of sovereignty, comes in doubly veiled, hippomorphic and third level form: the pack-horse. Guilty of the earlier sins of disloyalty, elopement and encroachment, they fail to observe the proscriptions associated with the use of the horse. Their possibility of union with the goddess is lost through negligence. Then, taking territorial possession through force, they seal off the consequences of their sins. With the laxness characteristic of their earlier history, they allow the circumstances that lead to their death. No dynasties are founded; the land does not pass in succession. Firmly on

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the third functional level despite the characters' efforts to advance above it, the story of Eochu and Rib can be characterized, in a recast of the earlier quotation from Puhvel, as a fully articulated account of a kingship candidate's encounter with the transfunctional hippomorphic goddess of sovereignty and her third estate sons. They fail to recognize and respect the goddess and although they seize power, their rule is without truth and legitimacy. They then suffer the fate of all bad kings, rejection by the land they ruled. The king in Giraldus' account of the royal inauguration is physically surrounded by and merges with the essence of the horse goddess. Eochu, on the other hand, is rejected and destroyed by the no less powerful effluences of this same body.(21) The story of Eochu can be viewed as a negative narrative reflection of the northern Irish ceremony, incorporating the basic elements of interaction with the equine goddess, sacral liquid, receptacle, bath, yet lacking the conferral of the king's truth which was essential to a prosperous reign. Like the inauguration ritual, it offers important points of contact with the Vedic *aśvamedha* and Roman *October equus.*

Just as it is improbable that Eochu is ultimately to be referred to Mannannán or the Dagda, the stories of Eochu and Rib are best not seen as primal myths, but rather legendary histories developed on the "template of myth" (O'Brien 1983: 129), like the Roman "projection of mythical levels onto the plane of diachronic dynastic history" (Puhvel 1974: 180). From such legendary history alone it would indeed be risky to attempt the reconstruction of pagan Irish beliefs that Bergin referred to. But, with the methodology of comparative IE mythology and the large body of cognate myth analyzed since his comments, it is possible to reapproach these stories with a view to enhancing our understanding of early Celtic belief. If we succeed, we will have reversed the cries of the Belfast hone-sellers: what was put in as sterile, impenetrable fragments comes out as organic parts of a once flourishing tree of belief.

(21) Bhreathnach (1982) calls attention to an interesting parallel from Dag Stromback, *Sejd: Textstudier i nordisk religionshistoria* (Stockholm, 1935), pp. 34 ff., where a *sejðkona,* a sorceress reflecting the dark side of the fertility goddess, takes the form of a mare to crush an unjust Swedish king.

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LITERARY CRITICISM AND THE HISTORY (1) OF RELIGIONS: THE EXAMPLE OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA

DANIEL DUBUISSON
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Scholars have tended to reduce the status of the ancient literary texts to that of mere documents likely to provide information about some particular aspect of the civilization with which they were contemporary. In so doing, however, they have adopted an approach which denies the texts their literariness, along with all the qualities dependent upon that, and rejects the ensuing semiotic specificity. Yet these elements are precisely those around which these literary works was constructed. This essay seeks to enumerate some of the problems raised by this reappraisal.

Any exegesis which seeks to advance both our knowledge of a particular literary work and of the hermeneutic process in general must attempt to throw light upon the meaning of the signs and significations that underlie it. This, at least, is the opinion of Paul Ricoeur, as expressed at the beginning of his work entitled *Conflit des interprétations*. (2)

A view such as this is enough to overturn the traditional relationship between specialists in ancient texts and their object, because, all too often, in our disciplines, rich in a positivist tradition which has stood the test of time, we believe we can do without the many conquests — and thus all the demands — of modernism. To take a significant example, while paying tribute to one of the fathers of this modernism, it is in this way that Paul Valéry's warnings related to the "condition verbale de la littérature"(3) are too often ignored. The most immediate consequence of this state of affairs is, as we know, the actual dependence of *semiosis* on the real world, whereas verisimilitude does not act as an external constraint upon the text, but is one of the several conditions of signification. (4)

Against this dependence, which tends to refer the significa-

(1) My doctoral thesis (*Le Rāmāyaṇa, epopée mythologique*, 2 vol., p. 613) being as yet unpublished, reference should still be made to my paper, "Trois thèses sur le Rāmāyaṇa", *Annales E.S.C.*, 3, 1979, pp. 464-489. I would like thereby like to thank Mr. A. Meehan for undertaking the translation of this essay.

(2) Paris, 1969.

(3) *Tel quel, Oeuvres complètes*, 2, Paris, 1960, p. 569.

(4) Cf. Michael Riffaterre, "L'illusion référentielle" in Roland Barthes *et al*, *Littérature et réalité*, Paris, 1982, pp. 91-118.

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tion of the text to something beyond itself, to deny it the privilege of a certain autonomy, the requirement formulated by Ricoeur must be seen as the desire to bring the problems of meaning back to the very heart of the text.

Now we might consider that the philosopher's suggestion to invert our perspective, and it is certain that all its consequences have yet to be evaluated, amounts to confronting the traditional "what does it mean?" with the formidable "how does it mean?". At first sight, it would be tempting to reduce this "how does it mean?" to two seemingly more accessible questions:

a) What are the information units present in the text?

b) How are these units organized, stratified or interwoven so that the reader comes to think, following a happy formula, that the text he has before him says one thing while meaning another? A formula which, by its simplicity, remains probably the best definition of the literary process.

Unfortunately these two questions, thus formulated, seem to me insufficient and consequently insoluble.

To start with, what can be said about the morphemes, when dealing, as we are, with a narrative as opulent as it is complex?

Sound method would deem it logical to begin with the words, as would any good rhetorical treatise, and from them to trace a methodical path upwards through the sentences to the whole text. Unfortunately we would be compelled to climb down, to renounce the raptures of this ascetic ascent.

And for at least two reasons:

First, we know, since Ferdinand de Saussure,(5) that the meaning of a sentence (and *a fortiori* that of a text) cannot be reduced to the meaning of the words that form it. There exists, between what Emile Benveniste terms the semiotic level, that of the words, and the semantic level, a threshold beyond which the illusory transparence of language to the world is radically called into question.

Secondly, and correlatively, Hjelmslev has demonstrated that "the dimension of units of manifestation is not significant in the definition of a sign".(6)

(5) *Cours de linguistique générale,* Paris, 1964, p. 157. See also Emile Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, 2, Paris, 1974, pp. 224-229 and Paul Ricoeur, *La métaphore vive*, Paris, 1975, pp. 91-102.

(6) A.J. Greimas and J. Courtés, *Sémiotique, dictionnaire raisonné de la theorie du langage*, Paris, 1979, p. 350.

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In other words, all we can be sure of with regard to signs or units of information in a narrative work is that they are not determinable *a priori* and that their combination cannot be reduced to mere addition.

Now, how is it possible to talk of the meaning of a text (understood here and henceforth as the coherent semantic project pursued by the author-s-)(7) if we are incapable of isolating the units of information which form it? It would surely be better to acknowledge that signs and signification, intuitively perceived as such in the reading of a text, are indissociable entities resulting from an original interaction.

From this viewpoint the signification would not be opposed to the signs as the whole is to its parts, for in this case we would be obliged to accept that the whole is both the result of a combination of its parts and yet preexists at their disposal: that they are mutually generative. It does not seem possible to establish an instrumental hierarchy between the two.

The problem of the signification of a text thus appears insoluble if approached exclusively from the sign angle. So Ricoeur's requirement must be formulated in another way. As the sign-signification pair has led us into an impasse, I consider it preferable to replace it with the pair text-signification.

First because these two terms, unlike their predecessors, seem to be coextensive, and furthermore because a particular text (whether narrative, descriptive, discursive or a just measure of each of these fundamental instances)(8) must of necessity possess totally binding existence modalities.

Let us suppose that these general modes are precisely those which will guide the interpretative process; that between them and the meaning there exists a certain isomorphism,(9) ensuing from their simultaneous genesis. And thanks precisely to this isomorphism we will be able to isolate the most significant information units.

Unfortunately, numerous question-marks hang over the text itself. I will therefore approach it as empirically as possible;

(7) Given that any phrase is indefinitely paraphrasable, since it is possessed of an inherent indeterminacy (cf. n. 12), it is probable that, for the author himself, the meaning is already the object of a quest.

(8) Cf. Gérard Genette, "Frontières du récit" in *Figures II*, Paris, 1969, pp. 49-70 and *Nouveau discours du récit*, Paris, 1983, pp. 66-69.

(9) Cf. M. Arrive, "La sémiotique littéraire" in J.C. Coquet, *Sémiotique, l'école de Paris*, Paris, 1982, p. 141.

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that is to say as a linguistic production set among other similar productions.

Under the influence of certain contemporary authors, an attempt is being made to define the mechanisms of literature in the most formal and rigorous way possible, so as to find their perfect equivalents in other fields of semiotics. To prevent the excess to which this tendency can lead, I consider it salutory, on the contrary, to take account of their flexibility, their capacity to adapt to new conditions created by history.

In this perspective, and I am prepared to stretch this idea to the point of expressing it through paradox, I would like to demonstrate that the literary text seems to me at once and inherently:

(A) autonomous and dependent
(B) determinate and indeterminate
(C) complex and simplifiable.

In commenting on each of these antithetical pairs, I will thereby show how the tensions they maintain at the very heart of the work, while provoking a sense of unease (that's to say the symptom of a need to comprehend) also represent the critic's lifeline, since any truth can only be dialectic.

Autonomous and Dependent

Owing to the success this concept has achieved in biology and sociology,(10) it has become customary today to talk of the autonomy of a text when denoting its capacity to account for coherent significations that can be discovered through its own constituents (linguistic, narrative, actantial...). Clearly in taking this salutary stand the interpreter is restrained from improperly departing from the text. Such a position means it is no longer possible to have systematic recourse to a heterogeneous and heteronomous region beyond the text in order to resolve the problems posed within it.

But this ideal definition neglects two aspects of the semantic life of a text, aspects which, while restricting its range, still do not fundamentally challenge its basis.

- First of all, autonomy is not synonymous with mastery.

(10) Cf. J.P. Dupuy, *Ordres et désordres, enquête sur un nouveau paradigme*, Paris, 1982, pp. 109-124.

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No text possesses the privilege of controlling or telecommanding the interpretations that are proposed of it. By postulating the autonomy of a text we will not solve any of the problems linked to its reception or to the polysemy which almost always ensues from it.

• Secondly, while any complete poetic text undeniably possesses a wide measure of autonomy, this autonomy is not absolute. Is there a single text in existence that is perfectly independent or self-sufficient?

Every text is both a palimpsest in which other texts (known or unknown to the author) can be read, and the unlimited source of glosses, paraphrases, quotations, commentaries and rewrites. Therefore it is never possible to consider it as it would itself appear if it were the unique vestige of an unknown civilization. Any textual interpretation is thus obliged to take into account a greater number of other texts that unavoidably direct its development.

Yet, contrary to the possible conclusion of a casual observer, it is not incompatible in this case to say that a text is both autonomous and at the same time only partially self-sufficient.

If the text possesses an original meaning, and remaining true to our definition, this means one constructed within and by the text itself, it does so because it is submerged among other texts and can determine its own configuration in relation to them. Our text has its own signification, and even its own *modus significandi*, precisely because it stands out in relation to other existing texts.

Although it may mean giving a paradoxical turn to this formulation, one is tempted to say that textual autonomy is actually conditional on intertextuality. The latter, in particular, works toward limiting the text's polysemy and ambiguity. Intertextuality frees it from interminable and fastidious clarifications by offering it the only system of references of any value in literature, that formed by other works, all other works. Because of the existence of this "library of Babel", a text can both mean something else and mean it in a different way, while avoiding indecipherableness.

Vālmīki's work is totally representative in this respect, as it enjoys, might one say, a wide intertextuality. Beginning in the Indo-Iranian period and continuing up to the present, it extends from Kashmir to the Philippines, from Mongolia to Indone-

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sia.(11) I would thus go as far as to say that the natural, indispensable complement to any research on the *Rāmāyaṇa* should be the study of its intertextual horizon.

But this abundance, which could itself become problematic, does not really diminish the semantic autonomy of Vālmīki's text (even if it enables us to elucidate certain elements of it). The latter remains the absolute master of the boundaries it has drawn. Now, as we know, it is precisely around these boundary stones, these limits, these interstices, that problems of meaning will emerge.

Determinate and Indeterminate

If a work of literature is both autonomous and dependent, it is also, and always simultaneously, determinate and indeterminate. In order to understand this second paradox, our point of departure must be the actual material of the text.

If each work, each information unit were tied in a one to one relationship to the whole, and at the same time, linked to an object of the world, the meaning of the work would emerge from itself, in as much, of course, as we would still continue to refer to meaning, since a perfect coincidence between world, language and literary work would put an end to the questions to which they all give rise.

Unfortunately, we are at the extreme opposite of such divine transparence, and for several reasons which we are well aware of today.

In the first place, linguistic utterances, by their very nature, can provide only a schematized representation of an object. Furthermore, it is inevitable that an empty space exists between them "which guarantees an extra margin of analysis"(12) to the reader. Lastly, utterances are linked by a network of interwoven relations that do not, *stricto sensu*, come within the scope of linguistics, which is traditionally limited to the sentence.

(11) Of all versions of the legend of Rāma, we consider it essential to note: the *Rāmopākhyāna*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, the *Rāmacaritmānas* of Tulsī Dās, the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, the Indonesian and the Cambodian *Rāmāyaṇa*. A detailed bibliography of this literature may be found in three works by Raghavan V., *The greater Rāmāyaṇa*, Varanasi, 1973, *The Ramayana in greater India*, Surat, 1975 and *The Rāmāyaṇa tradition in Asia* (Raghavan ed.), Madras, 1980.

(12) Horst Steinmetz, "Réception et interprétation" in A. Kibedi Varga, *Théorie de la littérature*, Paris, 1981, p. 196.

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On these grounds, certain eminent critics have tried to prove that there exists no specific *meaning* of a particular text, but rather virtual *significations* that each reader completes in his own way. The work would then possess an element of indeterminacy resolved individually by the synthesizing operation of reading.(13)

The major contribution made by Georges Dumézil tends to contradict this approach by acknowledging that the work develops around a structural matrix, of an ideological nature.

This being the case, what, might one ask, is Dumézil's objection to the advocates of constituent indeterminacy?

To any attentive reader of his work, the answer is obvious: it is the combined use of comparativism and the notion of structure.(14)

Now, if I had to define it in a word, or rather in two, I would gladly acknowledge that the method I have followed throughout my study is, in equal measure, comparative and structural. At the same time I would hope that no polemical or dogmatic intent will be sought behind these words.

Structuralism, in my view, is no more than the denial of any splitting up of the work, since it tends towards "abandoning all degree of pointillism".(15) There is no good reason to isolate one scene or another that might be problematic, by invoking its absurd, incongruous or scandalous nature. A literary work, a work such as the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki is an extremely sophisticated semantic system, and it is difficult to imagine how a scene such as the murder of Vālin or the repudiation of Sita, or a piece of information like Rāvaṇa's brahminical ancestry could be the result of negligence or thoughtlessness.

I thought it preferable to group together all these troublesome scenes and pieces of information to see if they might form a coherent whole, possessing its own intelligibility.

But even before reaching this point, comparativism had already intervened, and it is evident that this comparativism was no less pragmatic than the structuralism that came before it. Each was backed up by the other.

(13) Cf. Steinmetz, ibid., quoting Wolfgang Iser, *Die Appellstruktur der Texte*, Konstanz, 1970, p. 7.

(14) Cf. Francoise Desbordes, "Le comparatisme de Georges Dumézil, une introduction" in *Georges Dumézil/cahiers pour un temps*, Paris, 1981, pp. 56-61.

(15) Georges Dumézil, *Mariages indo-européens*, Paris, 1979, p. 89.

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This comparativism can be infra- or transtextual, and can focus as much on limited elements as on articulated groups, as vast and precise as possible.(16) The four possibilities which flow from this basic option have each been exemplified in turn. We will return to them briefly if only to underline their close interdependence, which does no more than reflect that which links every part and plane of the work.

First we can compare one scene to another within the same poem (e.g.: the murder of Vālin and the remorse of Sugrīva) or the same scene in two or more versions of the legend; then again we can compare a group of scenes, chosen on the basis of a certain common denominator (e.g.: the notion of transgression) to their conditions and consequences in the work itself, to the equivalent group in other versions as well as to the group that serves as its mythical paradigm, to the ideological system underlying each of them and to the whole set of presuppositions that govern the vast majority of past interpretations.

The methodological remarks briefly exposed above retain their overall validity when going on to consider the actantial system. Only in this case, comparativism concerns rather more the theology/epic relationship and the rules of transposition, than the study of the different versions. It affects the genesis of the system rather than its variants, which themselves do not take on any significative extent.

So I would share the view taken by Dumézil that the comparative method, extended to every plane of the work and to all accessible documents, allows us to bring out some structural schemas, thus removing a good deal of the indeterminacy which stems from the very substance of the work.

Of course, it would be naive to believe that the search for structures, based on the use of comparativism, can be a purely pragmatic exercise, relieved of all preconception. The only means by which we can pass from those structures visible on the surface to the profound structures of the work is by recourse to preexisting models.

Complex and Simplifiable

Like it or nor, we can only study models. We can never reflect upon concrete literary works whose complexity, both

(16) Dumézil, ibid.

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qualitative and quantitative, is beyond the normal capacities of a normal individual.(17) As a result, this complexity must always be reduced beforehand to a few privileged viewpoints, in order to uncover the broad outlines of a coherent organization. In this sense the literary work always seems to be an organism at once complex and simplifiable.

In order to avoid allowing these processes to end up as some form of reductionism, or to lead to the accumulation of contradictory interpretations, it is (or would be) sufficient to "problematize" in turn the results obtained at each stage, by bringing in entities belonging to a higher order (those able to integrate a greater amount of information at an identical cost) and to continue the process until the time came when the modelization ends up by coinciding exactly with its object.

Since this point is still a long way off, we are obliged to work with these tools put at our disposal by contemporary literary criticism.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as in almost all narratives constructed in a traditional mode, the aspects that best lend themselves to this attempt at simplification are obviously the narrative and actantial elements, since they refer to the macro-structures of the text. Now the "*dispositio*" of the latter is surely linked to its (original) meaning as, inevitably, the two were conceived concurrently. It is thus along these two main lines that I have sought to extract the elements, and, especially, the laws of organization which seemed to me to be the most pertinent.

1) In the first place, I had to organize the narrative components and arrange them into a hierarchy.

Of all those existing in the work, I retained five, because they seemed to account for the essentials while commanding future developments. They are respectively:

- The period of exile in the forest,
- the kidnapping of Sītā
- and what I have chosen to entitle "the three functional sins of Rāma" (the treacherous murder of Vālin, the brahmanicide following the death of Rāvaṇa and the repudiation of the irreproachable Sītā, personification of the Earth, flourishing and pure).

(17) On the complexity of literary works, see I. Lotman, *La structure du texye artistique,* Paris, 1973, p. 411.

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The following points are immediately recognizable on examination of these sins:

- They are comparable to those committed by the god Indra. Both series are homologous and rest upon the same ideological schema. (18)
- Sources external to Vālmīki's version attest to them. (19)
- At the same time, they brought about modifications (narrative and/or discursive) from the later *Rāmāyaṇa (uttarakāṇḍa)* and in most of the post-vālmīkian versions, (20) which sought to vindicate Rāma, promoted at this stage to an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.
- Finally, the scenes in which the sins appear have troubled contemporary interpreters as the authors of the critical edition. (21)

Thus, whether we examine the mythical archetype, or the variants offered in later versions, the perplexity of modern commentaries, or certain selections made in the critical edition, we are invariably brought back to the three enigmas of the legend of Rāma.

(18) The three functional sins of Indra have been analyzed by Dumézil, *Heur et malheur du guerrier,* Paris, 1969, pp. 69-76.

(19) See especially *The Śivapurāṇa* (4.9.21-22), Engl. trans. by a "board of scholars", ed. by J.L. Shastri, Delhi, 1969 (= A.I.T.M. vol. 2, p. 749).

For the treacherous murder of Vālin, consult further:

- *Mahābhārata* 7. 196. 35 (= 7. 1375* 1. 1-2) (crit. ed.).
- *Rāmakerti* (ed. and French trans. by S. Pou) 3745-54 and 4295-4301.
- *Indonesian Rāmāyaṇa* (ed. and Engl. trans. by S. Santosio) 6.172 and 174-175.

For the brahmanicide:

- *Padmapurāṇa* 4.8 and *Skandapurana* 3.47.

And for the repudiation of Sītā:

- *Raghuvaṃśa* (Kālidāsa): 14.73
- *Indonesian Rāmāyaṇa* (ibid.): 24.189 and 195.

(20) See n. 11.

(21) No exegete has thought to group together the three offending episodes in order to make them the starting point for a global interpretation, but many have noticed one or two of the three sins. I would hereby like to pay tribute to the perceptiveness of: J. Muir, *Original sanskrit texts*, vol. I, London, 1870, p. 21; H. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa,* Bonn, 1893, p. 96; A.B. Keith, The sanskrit drama, Oxford, 1924, 105; K.M. Ganguli, *The Mahābhārata* (Engl. trans.), vol. 7, 3rd ed., Delhi, 1970, p. 464 n. 1; R. Sharma, *A socio-political study of the Rāmāyaṇa,* Delhi, 1971, p. 79, 100 and 112 n. 3; G.S. Ghurye, *Gods and men,* Bombay, 1962, pp. 201-202 and *The legacy of the Ramayaṇa,* Bombay, 1979, pp. 18 and 20; F. Whaling, *The rise of the religious significance of Rāma,* Delhi, 1980, p. 62; S. Bhattacharji, "Validity of the Rāmāyaṇa values" in Raghavan (ed), *The Rāmāyaṇa tradition in Asia*, op. cit., pp. 87-89.

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The period of exile in the forest and the kidnapping of Sītā both throw light on the theme of the three sins in their own way.

Let us first consider the kidnapping of Sītā.

Besides revealing the value of the queen, in as much as she personifies the Earth, and thereby demonstrating supreme royal "enjeu",(22) it is this event which will bring about, in an almost mechanical way:

- the treacherous murder of Vālin (the price of which will be the alliance of Sugrīva and his army),
- the sacrilegious murder of the kidnapper
- and the humiliating and brutal repudiation of a heroine above suspicion.

Then, there is the period of exile in the forest.

Given that we can find within it certain specific themes (the hero's youth and his symbolic color (black), his exclusion from society and the ordinary framework of life, an austere existence, ascetic practices, trials (combats), a life immersed in nature, the quasi-experience of death and the conquest of the queen) all of which are traditional elements in any trial destined to produce an out-of-the ordinary man, we might wonder if the three sins do not themselves form part of this framework. The tests Rāma endures in the wild would be associated with the three major causes of peril (the sacred and the brahmin, combat and the warrior, prosperity and the Earth) which the future king can encounter in his initiatory quest for the queen.

2) The second privileged viewpoint naturally deals with the main characters. Once again, it serves no purpose here to undertake a detailed demonstration taking up an entire volume. I would merely like to mention that several epic pairs (Rāma/Hanumān, Rāma/the army of the apes, Rāma/Lakṣmaṇa and Rama/Sīta) in which Rāma is the only constant element, were most certainly imagined through the inspiration of the homologous pairs (Indra/Vāyu, Indra/Marut, Indra/Viṣṇu and Indra/Sītā) who, in Vedic mythology, illustrate various aspects of the warrior function.(23)

(22) Gösta Johnsen, "Varuṇa and Dhṛtarāṣṭra", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 9, 1966, p. 265, in studying the character of Draupadi, was the first to give prominence to the role of the queen as the prize at stake in the struggle between the two opposing forces, *deva* and *asura*.

(23) On this last, see Dumézil, *Heur et malheur du guerrier*, op. cit.

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The presence of this double homology (between myth and narrative structure on the one hand, and between theology and actantial system on the other) is fundamental.

It has been noted above that the presence of an abundant intertextual horizon reinforces the singularity of the work, restricts its polysemy while allowing the interpreter to test most of the hypothesis he has formulated with regard to it (autonomous and dependent).

Furthermore, we have seen that the simultaneous application of comparativism and structuralism permits us to isolate a certain number of noteworthy configurations, which by their scope, can only reflect a global semantic project (determinate and indeterminate).

We now discover, with the help of the method, models and results clarified by Dumézil, that these configurations have exact equivalents in Vedic mythology and theology, and that the macro-structures of the text, visible on the surface, reflect the profound structures which are equally evident in other domains (complex and simplifiable).

However, we must also accept that these constraints cannot prevent the literary work from giving way to the pressing solicitations of history. But we were forewarned of this.

In fact, if we accept, as I proposed at the beginning of this expose, that the literary work is the "lieu idéal" in which the pairs autonomy/dependence, indeterminacy/determinacy, complexity/simplification maintain a constant tension that serves to protect the opening of the work on to the world, we should also accept that these same pairs are responsible for having allowed our poetic text to be profoundly transformed.

So again we must isolate the principal innovations that disturbed the original configuration that tied together the profound structures, borrowed from myth and theology, and the superficial structures,the actual narrative account.

As I have shown, two features dominate this evolution which triumphs with book VII:

- the transformation of Rāma, originally an Indrian hero, into an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.
- and correlatively that of the three sins into three sanctions. (24)

This second transformation does not present any particular

(24) Cf. n. 20.

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difficulties as it was made possible by some easily discernable narrative and/or discursive modifications in the later versions of the legend. Indeed it indicates clearly that there exists an original meaning of the poem, without which it would be useless to engage in all these interpolations.

The other transformation is also very interesting. In my view, it is the result of the remarkable conjunction:

- of a hero who, giving up his Indrian past, was able to create, in his very being, a synthesis of renouncement, violence and royalty;
- of a god, Viṣṇu who himself became infinitely superior to his peers through the privilege of a grace that he distributed to his devout followers
- and of a principle, incarnation, whose unlimited resources Indra was the first to exploit (cf. *Bṛhaddevatā* 7, 49-50).

In the light of this story stands the supreme paradox revealed by the study of the legend of Rāma and on which I would like to conclude.

Built upon an archaic theme that dealt with the functional sins of a would-be king in his initiatory quest of the queen, transformed into an account exalting the martial skills and spirit that maintained the Indo-Aryan social order,(25) it finished by giving birth to a mass religious movement, praising indefinitely its deified hero's love and compassion above all social distinctions! (26)

(25) Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa* I, 25, 18-19ab (= I, 24, 670* + 16ab) (crit. ed.) and R.S. Sharma, *Śūdras in ancient India*, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1980, p. 301 n. 2.

(26) Cf. C. Bulcke, "Rāmacharitamānasa and its relevance to modern age" in Raghavan (ed.), *The Rāmāyaṇa tradition in Asia*, op. cit., p. 69.

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THE INDO-EUROPEAN STRAIN IN JAPANESE MYTHOLOGY: A REVIEW OF SOME RECENT RESEARCH(1)

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Since the early 1960s, thanks primarily to the seminal work of Atsuhiko Yoshida and Taryō Ōbayashi, it has become increasingly apparent that there is a pre-Buddhist Indo-European 'strain' in Japanese mythology – or at least that version of it preserved in the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*. This paper surveys several recent contributions to this research, as well as a body of evidence suggesting that the Indo-Europeans most likely responsible for this impact were a group of Alans who, either accompanied or profoundly influenced a tribe of Altaic-speaking horseriders who invaded Japan in the 4th century A.D.

In 1961, Atsuhiko Yoshida, a young Japanese Hellenist who had recently come to Paris to study with Georges Dumézil, published the first of a remarkable series of papers in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (Yoshida 1961, 1962, 1963) and elsewhere (Yoshida 1965, 1974, 1977, 1981) in which he attempted to demonstrate the strong probability that Japanese mythology, as expressed in the *Kojiki* (712 A.D.), the *Nihonshoki* (720 A.D.),(2) and other early sacred texts had been influenced by the tripartite ideology so convincingly elicited by his mentor throughout the ancient Indo-European speaking domain. This ideology is especially evident, he suggested, in the accounts specifically concerned with the origin and genealogy of the Imperial, or Yamato clan. At about the same time

(1) I should like to thank the American Philosophical Society and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research for their generous support of the research upon which this paper is based. I should also like to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to Atsuhiko Yoshida and Taryo Obayashi, whose comments and suggestions, to say nothing of encouragement, have proved invaluable to Kazuo Matsumura, who helped immeasurably with translations and who was also kind enough to read and comment on a draft, to Udo Strutynski, Jaan Puhvel, Linda A. Peterson, and Miriam Elbaum Robbins, who also made many valuable suggestions and to my colleague Lynne Miyake for her skill as a calligrapher. To one and all *Dōmoarigatōgozaimashita!* The conclusions I have reached are, however, wholly my own, and the above named scholars should in no way be held responsible for any errors on my part.

(2) The editions of the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* utilized in the preparation of this paper are, respectively, those of Philippi (1968) and Aston (1972).

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another Japanese scholar, the eminent anthropologist Taryō Ōbayashi, who had studied with Adolf Jensen in Frankfurt, began to reach similar conclusions as a result of his comparative studies of Japanese and Korean texts and his growing awareness of the degree to which both traditions were indebted to what appeared to be 'Western' influences in their formative states (e.g., Ōbayashi 1960, 1974, 1975, 1977).

Thus was launched a fascinating and as yet largely unappreciated sub-field of Indo-European studies: the ongoing attempt to delineate and account for what I have come to term the Indo-European 'strain' in Japanese mythology, that is, those themes and motifs which have counterparts in the Indo-European tradition and whose presence suggests that at some point in time before the introduction of Buddhism in the middle of the 6th century A.D.(3) the native tradition was profoundly affected, directly or indirectly, by an Indo-European speaking community. In this paper I intend to review the history of this sub-field and comment on some recent contributions to it by Yoshida, Ōbayashi, one of their students, and myself. First, however, we need to consider the intellectual background against which this radical interpretation of the Japanese tradition, which remains controversial both in Japanese and foreign academic circles, took shape.

The Horserider Thesis

In the years immediately following the end of what the Japanese call 'the Pacific War,' that is, in the late forties and early fifties, there was an upsurge of historical and religious scholarship as a new generation of Japanese scholars attempted to come to grips with questions about the origin of the Japanese people and their traditions, free from the nationalistic constraints that had been imposed by the previous military regime. Among the most important of these post-war contributions to scholarship was the concept of the *kiba minzoku kokka*, or the 'horserider nation.' Initially suggested by Namio Egami in 1948 on the basis of historical and archaeological evidence from

(3) The traditional date for the introduction of Buddhism to the Japanese court (via Korea) is 552 A.D. However, modern scholars are generally agreed that the new religion, which necessarily included some Indo-European themes, arrived somewhat earlier, perhaps in 538 (cf. Hall 1970:39).

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Korea and elsewhere in East Asia, the 'horserider thesis' maintains that Japan was successfully invaded by a band of horse-riding nomads from the Asian mainland sometime in the latter part of the 4th century A.D., at the beginning of what is called the Kofun, or 'burial mound' period in Japanese prehistory (ca. 350-550 A.D.; cf. Egami 1964, 1967).

These invaders, whom Egami identified as Altaic speakers of one variety or another, were most likely responsible for introducing the horse to Japan, as well as the custom of burying chiefs and other notables in large tumuli, or *kofun*, which are the hallmark of this period. Their immediate point of origin was clearly the Korean peninsula, where, Egami and his disciples (e.g., Ledyard 1975) suggest, they also formed the ruling elites of the three Korean kingdoms founded in the mid-4th century: Koguryō, Paekche, and Silla. However, it was also clear that their ultimate point of origin was much farther west, and it is now possible to locate them in Northern Manchuria circa 270 B.C., almost a century before they reached Japan. It should be emphasized that the period in question was a 'time of troubles' throughout East Asia (Ledyard 1975: 233-235), and that the presence of these (or closely related) free-booting marauders was also felt in China, although by no means as intensively as in Korea and Japan.

In any case, by 370 or thereabouts they appear to have gained a foothold in northwest Kyūshū, the southernmost of the Japanese archipelago, and by 400 they had reached the Yamato region of central Honshū, which became the heartland of the Japanese state that emerged some two centuries later. Here, Egami, et al. draw extensively on the *Kojiki*, which describes how the first Emperor, Jimmu Tennō, began his march of conquest from northern Kyūshū and eventually managed to establish himself and his people in Yamoto. According to the ancient texts, Jimmu was the great-grandson of Ninigi, the divine emissary and grandson of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Omikami. However, as the proponents of the 'horse-rider thesis' see it, Ninigi's descent from Heaven was but a metaphor for the transit across the Tsushima Strait separating Japan and Korea, which at its narrowest point is less than one hundred miles wide.

This invasion does not appear to have been a mass migration, but rather a conquest by a military elite. Indeed, the indigenous

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Yayoi culture seems to have persisted, especially in the hinterlands, until the beginning of the historic period (ca. 550 A.D.), and much of what we generally think of as the essential features of Japanese culture – wet-rice agriculture, even the basic architectural style that still persists at Ise and elsewhere – is clearly rooted in this indigenous tradition. Nevertheless, the horse-rider tradition seems to have been the focus around which the Imperial tradition – later modeled on that of China – grew up, and appears to have been responsible for the concept of a specialist military elite, unique in East Asia, which we know as the Samurai or *bushi* class.

The Primary Evidence for an Indo-European Impact

Until Yoshida and Ōbayashi entered the picture, it was generally assumed by adherents of the invasion hypothesis that the intruders were a Hunnish people (Hsiung-nu, Puyŏ, etc.) whose homeland lay somewhere to the north of China.(4) However, as hints of the presence of an Indo-European strain in the mythology directly concerned with the origin of the Yamato clan – that is, Jimmu and his descendants – began to surface, questions arose as to the ethnic make-up of this conquering elite. Was it possible that they included in their number some Indo-European speakers of one sort or another? Or had the horseriders been in sustained contact with such a community immediately prior to their invasion of Korea and Japan? Clearly, they left no major impact on the languages of these two countries, which, as anyone who has ever struggled with either Korean or Japanese will readily attest, are *not* members of the Indo-European family. Nevertheless, how did Japanese mythology, or at least the 'official' version of it, come to have such an Indo-European cast?

Before attempting to answer these questions – to the extent that they can be answered, given the current state of our knowledge – we need to summarize the evidence so far advanced in support of an Indo-European connection. In his *RHR* essays and elsewhere Yoshida points out that the primary divinities involved in the mythological phase of the sequence of

(4) Ledyard (1975:234) makes a good case for the probability that the Puyŏ, who at the beginning of the 4th century A.D. were located in northeast Manchuria along the Sungari River, formed the bulk of these invaders – or at least the Altaic-speaking component thereof.

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events described by the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* can be grouped into two major categories: the so-called 'Heavenly Divinities,' that is, those who, like Amaterasu and her immediate kinsmen and entourage, dwell in Takamagahara, or the 'High Plain of Heaven,' and the 'Earthly Divinities,' or those who preside over the 'Reed Plain.'

The former category includes a variety of divinities, most of whom form a divine family presided over by the Sun Goddess. As Yoshida sees it, the principal members of this multigenerational family fall neatly into the first two ideological functions (I assume a general familiarity with Dumézil's model)(5) and their sub-categories. The typically bifurcated first function — that is, the cosmic and juridical aspects of ultimate order or sovereignty — is reflected, respectively, by Amenomikanushi ('Lord of the Center of Heaven'), an otiose primary figure who, like the Indic Varuṇa, is essentially outside the major sphere of divine action, and Amaterasu herself, who, in Yoshida's opinion, is essentially Mitraic, at least from the Indo-European standpoint. Like her juridical-sovereign counterparts in the Indo-European traditions (Mitra, Tȳr, etc.) she is preeminently concerned with the maintenance of the *social* order and with the equitable distribution of rewards, punishments, and marriage partners. In this latter capacity she is helped by two male figures, Kamimusubi and Takamimusubi, the equivalents, respectively, of Bhaga and Aryaman, or Terminus and Iuventus — that is, Dumézil's 'souverains mineurs,' the incarnations of equitable distribution and the marrage 'contract' (Yoshida 1977:104).

The principal representatives of the second or warrior function are Amaterasu's 'brother' Susanō no Mikoto (both she and her sibling are born androgynously from the left eye and nose, respectively, of the Japanese 'Adam' figure Izanagi no Mikoto)(6) and Takemikazuchi, a war-god who is closely

(5) The best general introduction to Dumézil's ideas is still, in my opinion, his *L'idéologie tripartie des Indo-Européens* (1985). For a comprehensive assessment of these ideas, see Littleton (1982a).

(6) As Miriam Elbaum Robbins has recently pointed out (personal communication), the manner of Amaterasu's birth broadly recalls that of Athena: both goddesses were born parthenogenetically from the bodies of divinities who, at the time, at least, stood at the apex of their respective pantheons. Moreover, like Athena, who was at once the embodiment of *Polias*, *Nike*, and *Hygieia* (cf. Vian 1952), Amaterasu can be described as a trifunctional figure. In addition to being the acknowledged ruler of Heaven, the Sun Goddess is frequently described as bearing arms

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associated with swords and their employment (see below). However, of the two, Susanō is clearly the most prominent. Like most Indo-European warrior divinities, he is a rebel (at least in his youth), and is eventually punished for his sins against the sovereign order. Yet at the same time he is the incarnation of raging force (one etymology of his name can be interpreted as 'August Impetuous Male'), and at various times in his life he performs a variety of socially useful services, one of which will shortly be considered.

The third function, Yoshida suggests, is principally reflected in the'Earthly Divinities,' of whom the most important is Ōkuninushi, the 'Great Lord of the Country.' A descendant of Susanō and an earthly princess (see below), Ōkuninushi presides over the land and its bounty; he is a fertility god par excellence, and he and his associates belong to a category of divinities that is strikingly similar to the Vanir in Scandinavian mythology. Indeed, this similarity is heightened by the fact that at one crucial point in the narrative there is a conflict between these 'Earthly Divinities,' led by Ōkuninushi, and the 'Heavenly' ones over who will control the Midgard-like mortal world.

Thus, in addition to sorting themselves neatly into a trifunctional scheme, the Yamato divinities also engage in a civil war reminiscent of Dumézil's (1958:56-57) 'wars of foundation,' such as the Sabine War, the Aesir-Vanir conflict and, as I have attempted to demonstrate (Littleton 1982a:211-212), the conflict that Homer immortalized in his epics. As in the well-known reflexes of this Indo-European internecine struggle, the representatives of the first two functions prevail, and Ōkuninushi and his people are absorbed into the system, rendering it complete.

An important episode in this conflict points toward the specific Indo-European community most likely to have influenced Japan. To assert her sovereignty over the land, Amaterasu sent her grandson Ninigi to earth bearing three symbols of sovereignty: a mirror (closely associated with Amaterasu in an ear-

(e.g., *Kojiki* 1.14.6-7) and is clearly a patroness of the domestic arts, especially weaving (e.g., *Kojiki* 1.16.7), as well as of plant and animal fertility (e.g., her close association with the *magatama*, or fertility jewel). However, while Athena more often than not manifests herself as a second function figure (e.g., in the 'Judgement of Paris'; cf. Dumézil 1953), Amaterasu is primarily associated with the principal of sovereignty (first function), an association that is underscored by her position in the Imperial genealogy.

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lier context) (7), a magical sword, and a curved fertility jewel known as a *magatama.* Collectively, these three talismans represent the sum total of sovereignty, and replicas of them are still presented to every Japanese Emperor at his enthronement. The parallel here to Herodotus's famous account (4.5-6) of the Scythian origin myth is striking, to say the least. In the Scythian tale, three burning objects, a cup, a battle ax, and a yoked plow, fall from the sky and are retrieved by Kolaxáïs, the youngest son of the primeval being Targitaos, thereby conferring on him and his descendants sovereignty over the community. As is well known, Dumézil interprets the three Scythian objects as symbolic of the three functions, and Yoshida asserts that the same interpretation can be made of the three Japanese talismans; that is, the mirror reflects the first function, the sword the second function, and the *magatama* the third.

There are, of course, a great many more specific details and episodes cited by both Yoshida and Ōbayashi that bear on the presumed Indo-European connection, and it would be impossible to discuss them in any detail here. For example, the well-known Indo-European penchant for transposition from myth to epic (e.g., Wikander 1974) is also present in the Japanese texts. Thus, Takemikazuchi is transposed into the epic hero Yamato-takeru (literally, 'The Brave One of Yamato'), who, as we shall shortly see, has much in common with the Ossetic hero Batraz and the medieval European conception of Arthur.

At this point, however, I should like to focus briefly on several recent advances in the elucidation of the Indo-European strain and the extent to which they help shed light on the possible historical connections between the Indo-European domain, or a part thereof, and Japan.

Some Recent Advances

The Evidence from Korea. As I have indicated, the ancient Korean traditions are closely related to those of the Yamato clan. Several years ago Ōbayashi (1975) pointed out the tri-

(7) I.e., *Kojiki* 1.17.20, which describes how, when she was tricked into re-emerging from the cave into which she had retired (see below), Amaterasu's reflection was caught in a sacred mirror held by the gods. Thinking that another Sun Goddess was present, she resolved to investigate, and thus emerged completely from her hiding place (cf. Philippi 1968:85, n. 22).

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functional symbolism in the traditional account of the first three kings of Koguryō, as well as the extent to which similar sequences can be found in the *Kojiki* and *Ninhonshoki;* and in a recent paper (Obayashi 1984: 172-173) he has demonstrated another extremely important parallel to the Yamato mythology in the *Samguk-yusa,* which describes the founding of the Kingdom of Silla. According to this text, a divine being called Hwan'ung descended to earth bearing three 'Heavenly Regalia,' and his son, Tangun, who inherited these talismans, is said to have ruled Korea for 1,500 years. This, of course, closely resembles the previously mentioned Ninigi story and clearly suggests that the same ruling elite was involved in both cases. It is yet another link in the chain that leads back to ancient Scythia.

Additional Korean evidence in support of this connection comes from the recently excavated Paekche tombs (near modern Pusan), which have yielded artifacts that are strikingly similar to those found in the Scythian tumuli in Southern Russia. What is more, these Korean tumuli also closely resemble, at least externally, the famous 'keyhole' tombs at Nara and elsewhere that are associated with legendary Yamato emperors. Unfortunately, there has as yet been no systematic excavation of these Japanese *kofun,* as the Imperial Household Agency, which has control of them, has steadfastly refused to give its permission. However, the few bits and pieces – golden mirrors, some armor – that came to light when several smaller tombs were looted during the confusion following the Meiji Restoration in 1868 suggest that the contents of the Imperial tumuli would in all probability resemble those discovered in the Korean royal tombs. I hope that the Agency will someday see fit to soften its position and allow this matter to be settled once and for all.

The Evidence from Okinawa. In another recent paper Ōbayashi (1980) has suggested that the tripartite ideology managed to persist on the Island of Okinawa until at least the early 15th century, when it was drawn upon by local chroniclers in their interpretation of an undoubted historic event: the unification of the separate Okinawan states into a single kingdom. Separated by almost four hundred miles from the southern tip of Kyūshū, the Ryūkyūs have always been something of a backwater as far as Japanese culture is concerned. Okinawa, the

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largest island in the chain, was only brought under continuous Japanese rule in the 19th century (8), and both its dialect and folklore retain a great many archaic features that have long since disappeared in Japan proper.

In any event, according to the local chronicles, at the end of the 14th century Okinawa was divided into three independent kingdoms; Chūzan ('Middle Mountain'), Sanhoku ('Northern Mountain'), and Sannan ('Southern Mountain'), each of which was locally renowned for specific traits. Chūzan was known for its wise rulers; Sanhoku for the vigor and aggressiveness of its army; and Sannan for its wealth and agricultural abundance. Moreover, each kingdom seems to have had a talisman that reflected its special characteristics: Chūzan was symbolized by what appears to be a shaman's drum, Sanhoku by a sword, and Sannan by a famous golden *byobu*, or folding screen, on which was depicted the wealth of its citizenry. But as time went on (the kingdoms were founded in the 12th century), each began to lose the traits that had set it apart from the others. Thus, Chūzan's ruler became incompetent; Sanhoku's castle fell into disrepair; and the king of Sannan spent an inordinate amount of time in the pursuit of pleasure. In the end, all three kingdoms were conquered by a local strongman of uncertain origins named Kohashi, who founded a dynasty that endured until 1872, when the Ryūkyūs were formally annexed by the new Imperial government in Tōkyō.

Ōbayashi suggests that this traditional account of the unification of Okinawa was consciously framed in terms of the tripartite ideology, each kingdom reflecting one of the three functions (i.e., Chūzan the first, Sanhohku the second, and Sannan the third). Moreover, we encounter here once again the association of three talismans or 'regalia' with the concept of overall sovereignty, for although the chronicle does not specifically state that Kōhashi gained personal possession of the drum, sword, and screen, it is clearly implied that control of them was a necessary precondition to the establishment of a unified Okinawan kingdom.

To the best of our knowledge, the earliest Japanese settlers

(8) The Okinawan king recognized the nominal suzerainty of the Chinese Emperor, but from the middle of the 17th century to the end of the Tokugawa Shōgunate (1868) also paid sporadic tribute to the *daimyō*, or feudal lord of Kagoshima (Southern Kyūshū).

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arrived in the Ryūkyūs at the end of the 7th century A.D., at approximately the same time that Yasumaru Ōno compiled the *Kojiki.* Thus, the apparent persistence of the tripartite ideology in this marginal area, which is to the rest of Japan as Appalachia is to the United States, reinforces our assumption that despite two and a half centuries of intense Chinese influence the Indo-European world-view introduced by the horse-riders in the 4th century was still thoroughly viable when the first sacred texts were committed to writing.

Ama no Uzume. Several years ago Yoshida (1976) pointed out that the curious goddess Ama no Uzume, whose semi-nude, erotic dancing helped trick Amaterasu into re-emerging from the Cave of Night (*Kojiki* 1.17.13-19) and who later facilitated the descent of the Sun Goddess's grandson by once again exhibiting her genitals, this time to Sarutahiko (9), an obstinate monkey god who had refused to allow Ninigi to land atop Mt. Takachio (*Kojiki* 1.38.9-11, 39.1-11; *Nihonshoki* 2.17), plays essentially the same role in Japanese mythology as that played by Uṣas, Aurora, Eos, and other dawn-goddesses in the several Indo-European traditions. Indeed, as Yoshida (1976:68) demonstrates, the parallels between Ama no Uzume and the Vedic dawn-goddess Uṣas are in certain respects extremely specific, as the latter figure also exhibited her body while dancing (*RV* 1.92.4) and is said to have opened the door of a closed cave (*RV* 7.79.4).

To be sure, several major components of the Indo-European dawn mythologem, as interpreted by Dumézil (10), are lacking

(9) Sarutahiko is described as having a large red nose and may himself be a solar figure. Also, there is a tradition (*Kojiki* 1.40.2-3) that Ama no Uzume and Sarutahiko later married, and that the Sarume clan, whose members performed dances at the Imperial court as late as the 10th century (cf. Philippi 1968:581), are descended from this union.

(10) As Dumézil (1970:47-59) has demonstrated, the Indo-European dawn mythologem involves a pair of female siblings, one of whom, generally characterized as the mother of the sun, is either the personification of Night and/or the shadowy, 'false dawn' that lingers too long and must be driven out so that the day can truly begin. At Rome, this theme was acted out in the *Matralia,* a festival in honor of the dawn-figure Mater Matuta. In it a slave girl was driven out of the sacred precinct, thus symbolically expressing the expulsion of the 'bad' sister. Shortly thereafter, the Roman matrons who performed the ceremony carried their sisters' children in their arms and honored them as if they were their own (cf., for example, Plutarch, *Camillus* 5.2, *De fraterno amore* 21). The sisters children were symbolic of the newborn sun, while the matrons who held them represented the dawn-goddess honored in the festival. For a discussion of this matter, see Littleton (1982:116-117).

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in the Japanese accounts. For one thing, Ama no Uzume is neither the 'sister of the Night' nor by any stretch of the imagination Amaterasu's maternal aunt – she has no attested siblings, male or female. Moreover, unlike her presumed Indo-European counterparts (Uṣas, et al.) and/or their demonic sisters, she is neither 'cast out' (cf. the Roman *Matralia*) nor in any way attacked for lingering too long after she has performed her tasks.

Nevertheless, Ama no Uzume does play a dawn-like role in two major transitions, both of which involve the Sun and/or her emissary, and, although the goddess is not explicitly banished, the fact that she otherwise plays no part whatsoever in the tradition would seem to underscore her 'dawn-goddess' attributes, at least when viewed from an Indo-European perspective. Thus, despite the difficulties just mentioned, it is, I think, possible to make a fairly good case for an Indo-European connection here, all things considered. And if my colleague Kazuo Matsumura is correct, this connection may be etymological as well as thematic.

Matsumura, who studied with Yoshida and is currently completing a doctorate in Indo-European Studies at UCLA, has recently suggested (personal communication) that the principal element in the name Ama no Uzume, that is *uzu*, may possibly be of Indo-European provenance. (The *Ama no* and *-me* elements clearly mean 'Heavenly' and 'woman', respectively; cf. the Chinese characters 天 and 女). As he points out, the characters used in the *Kojiki* to represent *uzu*, 宇 and 受 (cf. Aoki, Ishimoda, Kobayashi, and Saeki 1982:97), were almost certainly intended to be read phonetically, as their ideographic meanings – respectively, 'eaves' and 'to receive, to catch' – make no sense whatsoever in this context. Thus the Chinese sounds *u* and *ju* (articulated as *zu* in archaic Japanese), respectively associated with these characters (cf. Nelson 1962:311, 589), were put together to form the morpheme in question, which presumably was introduced by the horseriders well before the onset of literacy in the 6th century. In light of the thematic evidence just cited, Matsumura hypothesizes that *uzu* may derive ultimately from the same source that gave rise to the names Uṣas, Eos, etc., that is; P-I-E **(A)usos-*.

It should be emphasized that etymology has heretofore played a negligible part in attempts to isolate the Indo-Euro-

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pean elements in the *Kojiki*, etc., as the great majority of Japanese divine names can be adequately explained in terms of indigenous and/or Chinese linguistic resources. Indeed, many Japanese scholars, Yoshida included (personal communication), have interpreted the name *Uzume* to mean 'Precious Woman' (that is, from the character 珍, which can be glossed as 'rare' or 'precious'; cf. *Uzuhiko*, 'Precious [or Noble] Prince'). Moreover a great many scholars have interpreted the goddess as a divine *miko*, or female shaman, whose principal function was to perform ceremonial dances before the *kami*, or divinities, while in an ecstatic state (cf. Katō 1926:38); as Sokyo Ono (1962: 43) points out, contemporary *miko* still perform this function at a great many Shinto shrines. The shamanic interpretation here is reinforced in the *Nihonshoki*, which uses a character meaning 'ornamental hairpin' to represent *uzu* in this context (11), and thereby emphasizes one of the more prominent features of the ancient *miko's* elaborate headdress (it also included a board-like hat; see Blacker 1975:107-108).

Yet the fact that the author of the oldest Japanese mythological text saw fit to represent *uzu* phonetically cannot be ignored. Nor can we overlook the curious phonological similarities between *uzu* and Uṣas, especially in light of the dawn symbolism noted earlier. Thus, although there are certainly grounds for assuming that by the 8th century Ama no Uzume had come to be conceived as a prototypical *miko*, the several etymologies just mentioned may very well be after-the-fact interpretations (12), interpretations predicated on a syncretism already ancient when the authors of the *Nihonshoki* attempted to render her name ideographically. In short, I do think Matsumura makes a good case here, and if his hypothesis proves to be correct – the matter is still under investigation, and no definitive conclusions have as yet been reached – it would certainly enhance the probability that the horseriders included an Indo-European speaking component.

Sword-Gods. In a recent and as yet untranslated book entitled *Tsurugi no Kami; Tsurugi no Eiyū* (1981), or *Sword-Gods and Sword-Heroes*, Ōbayashi and Yoshida underscore the extent

(11) I.e., 天目; the *on* or Chinese reading of which is *den* (see Nelson 1962:909).

(12) Philippi (1968:460) cites several other indigenous possibilities, such as *usu* plus *me*, or 'Mortar Woman,' which makes no sense, and 'Formidable Woman', from the adjective *ozushi*. Neither of these etymologies is convincing.

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to which the mythology surrounding Takemikazuchi, Susanō and other Japanese sword-figures, including Yamato-takeru, has counterparts elsewhere in Central Asia (i.e., among the Huns), as well as in the Indo-European traditions.

The Indo-European tradition most permeated by sword-figures and cults was, of couse, that shared by the ancient North Iranian-speaking steppe nomads, the Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans, and the rest, and both Herodotus (4.62) and Ammianus Marcellinus (31.4.22) stress the importance of swords in the religious life of these people. The same can be said for the ancient Japanese tradition. For example, Takemikazuchi is intimately associated with a famous sword, which serves as his alter ego, so to speak, and in one well-known *Kojiki* episode (2.49) he sends this weapon to earth in his stead to help Jimmu Tennō renew his march of conquest after it had been stalled. Yamato-takeru, too, has a famous sword, perhaps the most famous of all Japanese mythological swords, that is, Kusanagi (or 'Grass Mower') (13), which, as we shall see, was discovered by Susanō in the tail of a dragon, and which later became part of the Imperial Regalia. Kusanagi is still enshrined at Atsuta (near Nagoya), and is the object of an important cult.

Magical swords also play an important role in the epic tradition preserved by the last surviving speakers of a North Iranian dialect, the Ossets, whose immediate roots are Alanic, and Batraz, the chief Ossetic hero and leader of a *comitatus* known as the Narts, is possessed of a weapon so mighty that it takes twenty ordinary men to lift it. In both the Japanese and North Iranian traditions such swords are typically bestowed upon heroes (if not gods) by female figures who are close kinswomen. In the Ossetic case the sword is obtained with the help of Batraz's aunt, Satana, the 'Wise Woman of the Narts' (Littleton 1982b:57), while in the *Kojiki* Yamato-takeru receives Kusangi from *his* aunt, the high priestess of Amaterasu at Ise.

In short, this fascination with swords and sword-cults, which is not unknown in modern Japan, is yet another manifestation not only of the Indo-European strain per se, but more specifically of the extent to which the immediate Indo-European

(13) The original name was Mura-kumo, or 'Assembled Clouds,' which perhaps reflects Yamata no Orochi's association with rainwater (see Littleton 1981:276-277). The name Kusanagi derives from an episode in the Yamato-takeru saga in which the sword wielded itself and cut down some obstructing grass (*Kojiki* 2.38.4, *Ninonshoki* 7.24).

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community most likely to have impacted Japan (directly or indirectly) was one composed of Scythians or, more probably, given the time-frame, Alans, the easternmost of the North Iranian steppe horsemen. I will return to this matter shortly. However, I should like to conclude this portion of the paper with some brief comments on two recent contributions of my own: a comparison of Susanō and Indra (Littleton 1981) and an attempt to demonstrate the extent to which certain Japanese figures exhibit Arthurian traits (Littleton 1983). First, Susanō and Indra.

Killing the Mulitheaded Monster. Endowed with great strength, as well as a rebellious disposition, the young Susanō committed a series of outrages which culminated in the throwing of a horse through the roof of the Divine Weaving Hut (*Kojiki* 1;16;7). As a result, he was banished from Heaven and forced to descend to the Reed Plain. Shortly thereafter he became involved in an episode that should seem familiar to students of comparative Indo-European mythology.

As the newly arrived Susanō made his way along the Hi River in Izumo he encountered a princess in imminent danger of being devoured by a ferocious eight-headed, eight-tailed dragon. Her plight seems to have triggered his better nature, for he immediately set about plotting the beast's demise. Setting out eight tubs filled with sake, he concealed himself and waited for the dragon, who was called Yamata no Orochi. When the multiheaded monster noticed the liquor, he immediately began to drink it, and before long was rendered incapable of putting up a fight. At this point Susanō proceeded to hack Yamata no Orochi to pieces, and in the process discovered the Kusanagi sword that became part of the Imperial Regalia and eventually proved so helpful to Yamato-Takeru. He subsequently married the princess, known as Kushi nada Hime, settled down in the vicinity, and produced offspring. The most famous descendant of this union was, of course, the previously mentioned fertility god Ōkuninushi, who is enshrined at Izumo Taisha.

Save for the presence of the 'maiden in distress' motif – and even here, as we shall see, there is a possible parallel – this story (cf. *Kojiki* 1.19.1-22; *Nihonshoki* 1.52) generally resembles the famous account in *Mahābhārata* 5.9.1-40 of how Indra slew Viśvarūpa, the monstrous three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ. As in the Japanese tale, the creature was apparently

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in a drunken stupor, in this case induced by wine and Soma, at the time of the confrontation and offered little resistance when Indra attacked him with his *Vajra*, or thunderbolt. Moreover, when Viśvarūpa's corpse was dismembered, magical birds issued from each of the lifeless mouths, just as the magical Kusanagi sword emerged from one of Yamata no Orochi's tails.

It would be impossible here to discuss in any detail the ramifications of this important parallel, such as the possibility that the role played by Kushi nada Hime is cognate to that played by the Apṣaras in Indra's preparations for his encounter with Viśvarūpa (14) or the water symbolism that pervades both episodes (Littleton 1981:276-277). But it should be recalled that Dumézil has long since demonstrated that the events described in *Mahabhārata* 5.9 are but one manifestation of a widespread Indo-European theme: the killing of the Tricephalus, well-known reflexes of which can be found in the Greek, Roman, Celtic, and Germanic traditions as well as in that of ancient India (15). Thus, like the Indo-European second function figures who must slay three-headed adversaries in what amounts to a *rite de passage* which transforms them into full-fledged warriors (Indra's fight with Viśvarūpa is in effect a preliminary bout that prepares him for the championship match as it were, with the far more formidable Vṛtra), Susanō is transformed by his encounter with the dragon from a callow youth into a mature adult, and he eventually returns to Heaven as a responsible member of the pantheon. That his adversary has eight rather than three heads would seem to reflect a syncretism with the apparently indigenous concern with the number eight, which pervades the Japanese tradition.

In short, although there is no solid evidence that any of the North Iranians knew a version of the theme in question (16), it is not impossible to suggest that they might have, or at least that they transmitted a version of the Indian story to Japan.

(14) Indra's initial ploy was to have the Apṣaras seduce Viśarūpa, but this proved unsuccessful. Admittedly, the roles are reversed here, as Yamata no Orochi was clearly lusting after Kushi nada Hime. Nevertheless, the fact that both accounts include a sexual element reinforces the assumption that they stem from the same source (see Littleton 1981:277-278).

(15) For a discussion of this theme, see Dumézil (1969:19-32). See also Littleton (1982a:119-120).

(16) As I have suggested elsewhere (Littleton 1981:275-277), Batraz also kills dragons, but there is no suggestion that they were multiheaded.

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Whatever may have been the case, the probability of independent invention would appear to be exceedingly low.

Arthurian Themes. As I have recently attempted to demonstrate (Littleton and Thomas 1978; Littleton 1979, 1982b), the core of the Arthurian legends was in all probability derived from prototypes that were shared by the ancestors of the Ossets, as well as other North Iranians at the end of the first millennium B.C. This interpretation is based on some indisputable parallels between the medieval European Arthurian romances and the Nart sagas (Grisward 1969,1973), plus the fact that a troop of 5,500 Sarmatian *cataphracti* was posted to Britain in the 2nd century A.D. by Marcus Aurelius (Dio Cassius 71.16; cf. Richmond 1945, Sulimirski 1970:175-176, Nickel 1975) and was thus in a position to diffuse this ancient steppe tradition to Western Europe. Moreover, it is now clear that the descendants of these Sarmatian auxiliaries managed to maintain their ethnic identity until the end of the Roman period (410 A.D.), and that in all probability the 'historic' Arthur, who defeated the Saxons at Badon Hill and elsewhere circa 510 A.D., was a member of this community (Littleton and Thomas 1978:520-523) (17).

It is also clear that the North Iranian (or, more specifically, Alano-Sarmatian) heroic tales that so profoundly influenced medieval European literature had a similar influence on the Japanese tradition. Space prohibits consideration of most of the specific Japanese manifestations of this influence, (for a comprehensive treatment of the matter, see Littleton 1983). However, the most 'Arthurian' Japanese figure is by all odds the aforementioned Yamato-takeru, and therefore some additional remarks about him are in order.

One of twin sons born to the Emperor Keikō, Yamato-takeru did not become the heir apparent, but his 'manly spirit' was evident from birth, and when he reached adulthood he became the leader of a mighty band of warriors. Moreover, like King Arthur and the Ossetic hero Batraz, both of whom led

(17) However, if Ashe (1985: 96-102) is correct, the 'historic Arthur' may be identified with a mid-5th century British King called Riothamus, who is known only from Continental sources. In any event, the name 'Arthur' is in all likelihood a title derived from the gentilic name of the legionary commander to whom the Sarmatian auxiliaries were assigned after their arrival in Britain: Lucius Artorius Castus. The first scholar to suggest this was Malone (1924). The Sarmatians in question belonged to the Iazyges tribe (see Sulimirski 1970:175, Littleton and Thomas 1978:520).

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similar bands, he was, as we have seen, the owner of an Excalibur-like sacred sword. And as we have also seen, he received that sword (i.e., Kusangi) from a close kinswoman, just as Batraz received his magical sword with the help of Satana, and Arthur received Excalibur from his sister, the Lady of the Lake.

The most important parallel between the Ossetic and medieval European traditions involves the respective deaths of Arthur and Batraz and reflects what Grisward (1969) has called 'le motif de l'épée jetée au lac.' That is, both leaders die only after their magical swords are reluctantly hurled into the water of a lake (or sea) by one or several of their faithful followers, and this final act is preceded by several abortive attempts to deceive the dying leader by hiding the sword and telling him that his last wish has been carried out. Moreover, in both traditions when the sword finally reaches the water a prodigious thing happens: in the Arthurian legend a hand rises from the lake and grasps it and in the Ossetic tale (cf. Dumézil 1930:69) the previously calm waters turn blood red and become extremely turbulent.

Although the details are different, Yamato-takeru also dies shortly after losing Kusanagi. Leaving the sacred sword in the care of a princess, he embarked on a final expedition, but soon thereafter became seriously ill and was carried by his grieving companions to the seashore at Otsu, where he died moments after discovering a second sword that had been hidden under a pine tree (*Kojiki* 2.85-86; *Nihonshoki* 7.28). However, before his body could be buried his soul, in the form of a bird, flew off in the direction of Yamato, and when the coffin was opened no physical remains were found. Thus, like the other two figures, Yamato-takeru's remains were transported to another realm (Batraz ascended to Heaven and Arthur was carried off in a barge to Avalon).

Admittedly, the element of deception, so prominent in the European and Ossetic death scenes, is missing in the Japanese texts, as is any mention that Kusanagi was ever thrown into the water (18). Also, the sequence of events is slightly different in that Yamato-takeru gave up the magical sword *before* the onset of his fatal affliction (Littleton 1983: 75). Nevertheless, the

(18) However, in the Okinawan tradition noted earlier, the sword of Chūzan was apparently thrown into the sea at the time of the king's death. Ōbayashi (1980: 331) compares this practice to the final disposal of Excalibur.

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overall framework here is similar enough to warrant the cautious suggestion that 'The Brave One of Yamato' is indeed cognate to Arthur and Batraz,(19) and that this widespread Alano-Sarmatian hero-figure is in fact present in the Japanese tradition.

Did the Horseriders Include a Contingent of Alans?

Having reviewed the essential evidence in support of the proposition that there is an Indo-European strain in Japanese mythology, as well as some of the more recent research that bears on this matter, we are now in a position to consider the historical possibilities. As I have indicated, the specific Indo-European speaking community most likely to have had an influence on Japan was an as yet undocumented contingent of Alans. Let me elaborate.

The Alans, or Oss, as they are sometimes called (e.g., the Ossets), were the easternmost of the North Iranian speaking steppe nomads. Indeed, as late as the 2nd century B.C. several Alanic groups were still living along the western border of China, and are referred to as the Wo-sun in the Han chronicles (Vernadsky 1943:82-84). Although the great majority of these steppe horsemen began to migrate westward toward the end of the first millenium B.C. (cf. Bachrach 1973), it seems probable that at least some of them either remained *in situ* or perhaps drifted even farther east, especially after the collapse of the western Han in 8 A.D. (Littleton 1983: 70). Only the Tocharians were situated more strategically as far as East Asia was concerned. But despite Pullyblank's (1966) speculations about the presence of 'nomadic Tocharians' well within the borders of China in the early centuries of our era, all of the evidence points to a North Iranian impact, and of the North Iranians, the Alans were clearly the prime candidates.

There are several possible scenarios. One is that in the confusion following the breakup of the Western Han a 'Wo-sun' clan drifted eastward along the Silk Road, joined forces with a Hunnish tribe, and reached southern Manchuria in the middle of the 3rd century A.D. Another possibility is that an Alanic group that remained in the homeland region came into sus-

(19) And also perhaps to Lancelot, who, as Peterson (1985) recently demonstrated, was a Continental Alanic equivalent of Arthur and Batraz.

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tained contact with one or more Altaic groups that subsequently carried large elements of the North Iranian tradition to Korea and Japan. A third scenario, which, given the pervasive nature of the evidence we have considered, would seem least likely, is that the themes in question passed through several Altaic cultural filters, so to speak, before reaching East Asia.

At present, in the absence of hard archaeological and historical evidence,(20) it is impossible to say with any certainty which of these scenarios (if any) is the correct one, although in light of the mythological evidence I personally favor the suggestion that there was a direct impact, and that the Yamato clan may very well have had an Alanic chieftain (the prototype of Ninigi, perhaps?) at the base of its geneaology. Whatever may have been the case, the impressive corpus of evidence advanced by Yoshida and Ōbayashi, as well as my own modest contributions, clearly suggests that those who compiled the earliest Japanese religious texts were in fair measure constrained by the same tripartite ideology that manifests itself in the *Rig Veda*, the Icelandic *Eddas*, and other ancient Indo-European documents. Yoshida (1977:95-96) has suggested that certain features of early Japanese social organization also reflected that ideology, such as the division of society into two main classes, one of which included, along with the Imperial (i.e., Yamato) clan, a set of warrior and priestly clans whose members claimed descent from one or another of the 'Heavenly Divinities,' and the common people, who were believed to have descended from the 'Earthly Divinities' and other indigenous nature spirits. But it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss this important matter in any detail, save perhaps to mention that a similar pattern can be detected in the most archaic phase in the evolution of Korean organization,

(20) Analogies to what happened in Japan in the 4th century A.D. can be seen in the Anglo-Saxon (Ledyard 1975:228-229) and Norman conquests of Britain. Indeed, the Norman Conquest is a particularly apt analogy, for like the horseriders, the Normans ultimately lost their linguistic heritage. Moreover, just as the Norman churches of England were for the most part actually built by Saxon stonemasons, the horseriders' tumuli and the *Hanniwa* figures that decorated them were most likely the work of indigenous Yayoi craftsmen. In both cases, from a purely archaeological standpoint, there is little or no *hard* evidence of intrusion, but rather simply the appearance of a new *style*. In short, if we did not possess objective and undoubted historical accounts of the Norman and Anglo-Saxon invasions, they would still be the subjects of as much scholarly controversy and debate as the 'horserider thesis' is among contemporary Japanologists.

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and that the Samurai class, which crystalized in the 13th century after the initial period of intense Chinese influence (ca. 550-850 A.D.) had waned, is in all probability rooted in that most characteristic of ancient Indo-European social institutions: the *Männerbund* (cf. Wikander 1938).

Finally, it should be emphasized that the mythology expressed in the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* is patently syncretistic. Most of the major divinities, including Amaterasu, who in many respects is a typical fertility goddess of the sort found among simple agriculturalists in many parts of the world, almost certainly predate the coming of the horseriders. And as we have seen, the inherently Japanese concern with the number eight, which, as Susumu Ōno (1980:38-40) has recently suggested, may have Malayo-Polynesian roots, is very much in evidence in the Yamato texts.

Nevertheless, the presence of an Indo-European strain in Japanese mythology cannot now be denied, and I hope that my colleagues, both in the West and in Japan, will continue their exploration of this most fascinating aspect of comparative Indo-European studies. I also hope that it will eventually contribute to a better understanding between our two civilizations, which may have more in common than most of us have heretofore suspected.

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IN SEARCH OF THE PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSEMBLAGE

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Current reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European culture derives largely from linguistic and mythological evidence. Since much of this relates to social and mythological data the archaeologist has difficulty in identifying PIE societies from such material remains as have survived.

Despite the achievements of scholars as Marija Gimbutas over the past two decades, the Indo-European (IE) problem as it is approached today remains essentially a linguistic concern. During the past century of scholarship, archaeological research has been applied to the study of Indo-European culture and society primarily in the search of a homeland or as a means of illustrating the fruits of linguistic paleontology. Current reconstructions of IE culture and society are based to a large degree upon linguistic, historical and mythological data available for historical speakers of IE dialects. Rarely have these reconstructions been systematically compared with archaeological samples (in an effort to test the relationship between two forms of 'recorded' human behavior) nor has research in IE studies (i.e., the combination of linguistics, mythology and archaeology) reached the point at which a material culture can be tested for the presence of IE characteristics. The scholar must therefore confront the question as to what precisely constitutes an IE assemblage.

The linguistic transformation of the European continent as it appears in current reconstructions implies socio-cultural repercussions which one might reasonably expect to be manifest in the material remains available to archaeologists. The tools used in archaeological research today facilitate the reconstruction not only of the artifacts themselves, but more importantly the reconstruction of the cultural and social systems which enabled their producers to survive (e.g., marriage patterns, systems of leadership, and their changes over time). In other words, the science of archaeology is now in a position to measure the types and degrees of change implied by the results of the last century of historical linguistic research into the problem of 'indo-europeanization'.

The research to be discussed here represents an effort to identify and describe the nature of initial contacts believed to have existed between indigenous Europeans and the first

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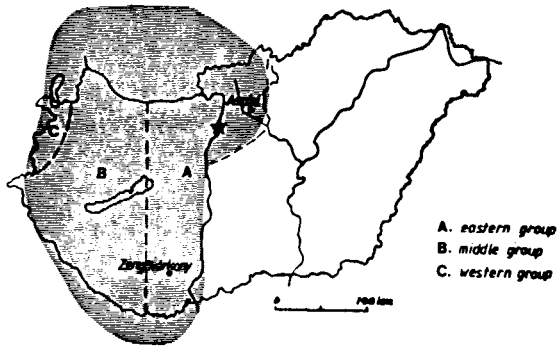
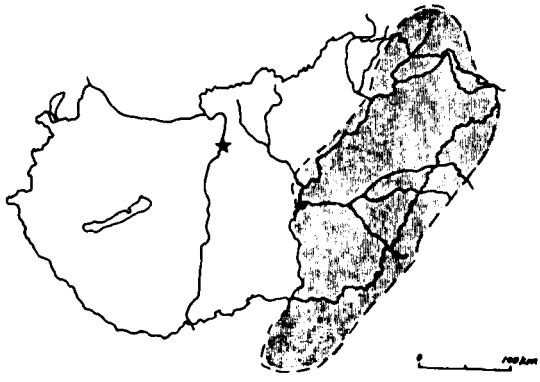


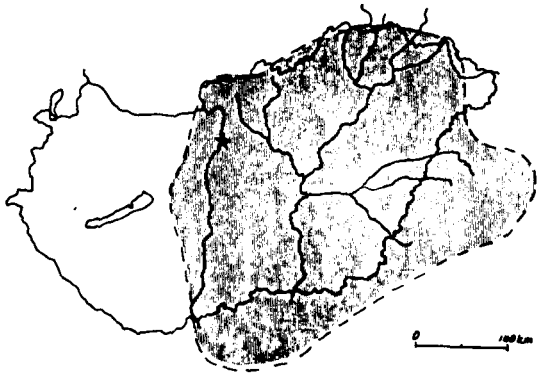
Map 1

Lengyel Cultural Extension



Map 2

Tiszapolgár Cultural Extension



Map 3

Bodrogkeresztúr Cultural Extension

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hypothesized IE-speaking or PIE-speaking peoples to migrate into Europe from Asia. A series of archaeological cultures was selected for this purpose based both upon their contemporaneity with events eastward, assumed to be related to an early IE arrival, and their location along an established path of westward migration. These are the Lengyel, Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures in modern Hungary.

It is during the fifth and fourth millennia B.C. that the archaeological record manifests a series of apparently abrupt changes throughout Southeastern Europe. This period corresponds to the Early through Middle Copper Ages in the Hungarian Carpathian Basin, the Tisazapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures respectively. During this period of accelerated technological development and increased intercultural trade contacts, existing evidence confirms that: 1) both copper and gold were mined and exploited locally for the first time; 2) the domesticated horse was introduced to the Carpathian Basin; 3) the dead were buried consistently within separate cemeteries, where sexual dimorphism was clearly observed for the first time; 4) both settlement patterns and their distribution density in Hungary were dramatically modified during the Copper Age; and, 5) influences from the Northwest Pontic, attested initially among the Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic cultures of Moldavia, Dobruja and Bulgaria were felt in the Carpathian Basin.

The theory of Proto-Indo-European arrival into Europe has been invoked to account for *some* of these dramatic transformations. A series of foreign influences observed among such East European archaeological assemblages as the Cucuteni culture in Moldavia and Dobruja have been attributed to the Kurgan culture. The Kurgan archaeological assemblage is characterized by a pastoral economy including domesticated horses, seasonal settlements of small semi-subterranean houses, distinctive burial rituals reserved for prominent males and a markedly robust skeletal type (Gimbutas 1970, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1981). It is these nomadic groups which have been identified by Gimbutas with the first Proto-Indo-European (PIE)-speakers to penetrate Europe from the northeast.

The theory proposed by Gimbutas attempts to account for the apparent dramatic changes which characterized the Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic through Copper Ages in Southeast Europe, as well as to isolate the causes and means of transfor-

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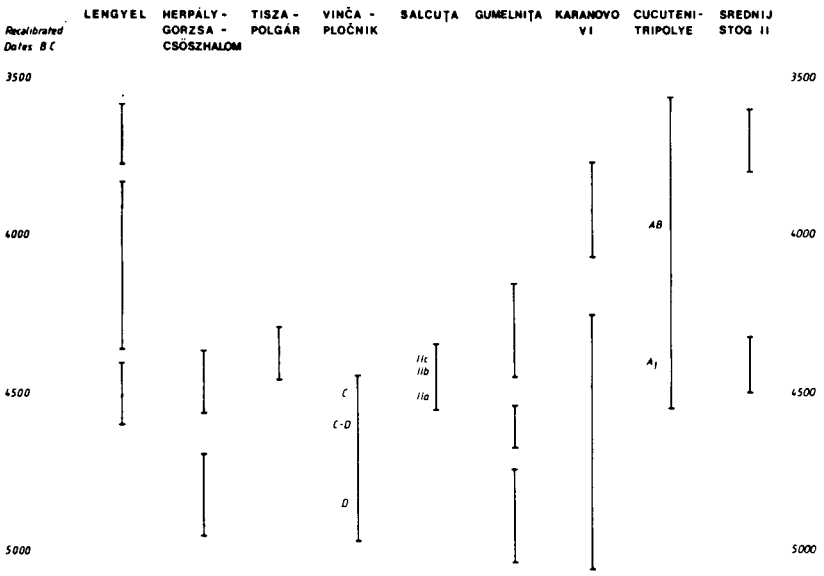
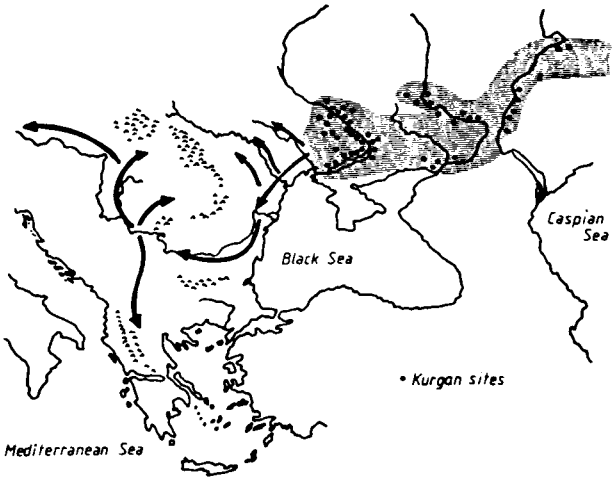


Table 1 : Chronology of Southeast Europe, IV - VI mil. B.C.



Map 4

Kurgan Entry

Wave I

(After Gimbutas 1977)

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mation which resulted in the IE cultural presence so clearly visible throughout Europe by historical times. Insofar as the Carpathian Basin has served historically as both a receptacle and corridor for advancing eastern cultures, it is considered appropriate to test the theory of a western prehistoric migration into this strategic location.

The Lorenz curve of wealth distribution, a statistic used in the study of comparative economics, served as the major source of information regarding the pattern of social stratification by measuring the distribution of material possessions among the Chalcolithic to Middle Copper Age archaeological populations considered in this study. The patterns were in turn interpreted by the use of recent social anthropological and archaeological research on the nature of prehistoric social patterns. Conclusions were drawn concerning the relationships of these cultures to one another and the possibility for the presence of a non-indigenous catalytic influence such as that reconstructed for PIE.

Methodology

The Lorenz curve is a means of plotting graphically the distribution of wealth in a population. A statistic adapted from modern economic theory, the Lorenz curve measures the degree of inequality between opposite limits, where a slope of +1, or a straight diagonal line [Fig. 1a: A-C] plots total uniformity (Samuelson 1976: 84ff; Reynolds 1973: 529ff). As wealth becomes less evenly distributed the line curves until it forms a right angle [Fig. 1b: A-B-C], which plots the state of total inequality, or where a single case controls all wealth.

Of interest for the comparison of wealth distributions is a single value which expresses the degree to which the population's wealth pattern deviates from a uniform distribution. The Gini coefficient describes the proportion of the total area between the diagonal of uniformity and the Lorenz curve plotted for the population. [Fig. 2] The values, expressed as percentages, will range from 0 for total uniformity to 100 for total inequality. For the present there are no recognized diagnostic values for certain levels of social complexity, therefore the application of this statistic will have relative value, limited to the comparison of cultures in the same sample.

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Data

The set of data used in this study includes the grave gifts, burial ritual and skeletal information from 1022 Chalcolithic Lengyel, Early Copper Age Tiszapolgár and Middle Copper Age Bodrogkeresztúr graves and 1057 skeletons. Once the individual burial attributes were measured for each aspect of a burial, a single value for each individual was computed. This value represents the sum of the presence/absence, frequency and quality of artifacts associated with a burial. The value was assigned each object recovered from a grave based upon: 1) its relative frequency in the sample as a whole; 2) its local availability; 3) the estimated amount of energy expended to acquire it; and, 4) an appraisal of its cultural function. The values thus derived were treated as equipollent for each of the three cultural groups studied.

Objectives

The changes in social organization of primary interest to this study are: 1) the relative increase or decrease in uniformity of wealth distribution through time; 2) sexual association with wealth; 3) age association with wealth; 4) correlation of age and sex with wealth; 5) degrees of variation in burial ritual between cultures; 6) the composition of the top 30% of each population; and, 7) degrees of variation in burial ritual between the top 30% and the total population.

Results

The analysis of differential distributions of wealth was able to derive general patterns of social behavior for the Chalcolithic through Middle Copper Age cultures in Hungary. Sex, age and kinship were clearly reflected in the sample, and demonstrate considerable variation among the three cultural groups.

CHALCOLITHIC LENGYEL

Based upon these results the Chalcolithic Lengyel society can be characterized as the least egalitarian of the three groups studied. Wealth therein was less uniformly distributed as evidenced by more individuals with no burial wealth and a few with large wealth. Neither sexual nor generational distinctions were consistently observed in the distribution; females and sub-

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adults were prominent among both the wealthiest and poorest sub-groups of the Lengyel community and females possessed slightly more total wealth than did the males.

Burial wealth does not appear to have been accumulated during the lifetime of either female or male members, where wealth correlated negatively with a male adult's age at death and demonstrated no correlation with that of a female during the Chalcolithic.

These observations support the conclusion that a society existed in which wealth and status were less frequently bestowed for individual achievement than by inheritance. Kinship may well have been reckoned bilaterally, for distinct patterns of either patri- or matrilineality are absent.

The slightly greater frequency of wealthy burials among the Lengyel culture does not argue for regional control by a single 'big man', whose status must be clearly symbolized to achieve stature beyond his immediate community (Randsborg 1973, 1974; Sahlins 1963). The lack of consistent patterns – either in ritual or wealth distribution between social groups – argues against a strong centralized organization. Moreover, the fact that the greatest variation occurred between cemeteries implies that society was governed on a local level and intracultural contract was relatively infrequent. It is possible that the Lengyel society recognized clear levels of status. Age distinctions were not apparent between the richest and poorest burials as observed by Randsborg in Denmark (1974: 52), and both groups were characterized by the presence of sub-adults. Moreover, the greater visibility of females in the Lengyel society suggests an important economic role, often associated with agrarian societies.

The Lengyel culture in Hungary emerges as a relatively isolated community which experienced little external disturbance, although the question of endogamous marriage patterns could not be broached with the available osteometric data. This interpretation is corroborated by evidence from extensive, continuously used cemeteries that reveal dramatic local variations in ritual. In addition, Harner's observation that bilateral kinship may be characteristic of clan structure in areas of least population may also apply to the Chalcolithic in western Hungary (1970: 84).

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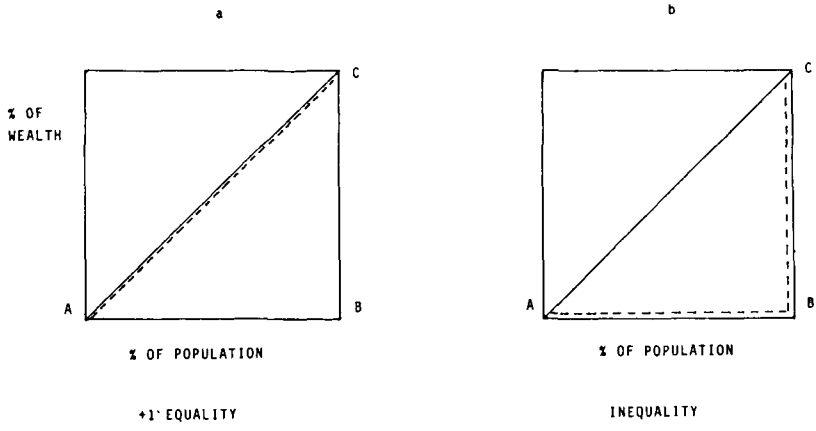
FIGURE 1

LORENZ CURVE



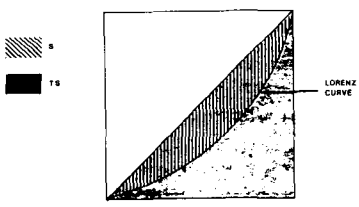


FIGURE 2

GINI COEFFICIENT

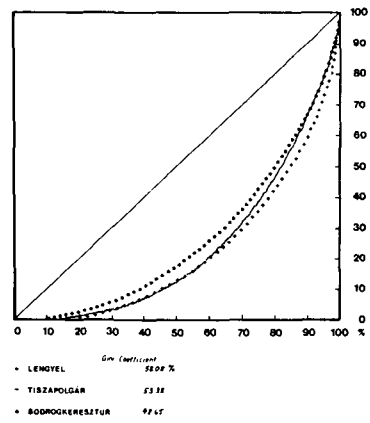


Figure 3

Lorenz Curves per Culture :

Total Population

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EARLY COPPER AGE TISZAPOLGÁR

Despite the possession of greater total wealth during the Early Copper Age, [Table 5] the Tiszapolgár society cannot be characterized as one in which status and wealth were ascribed more than achieved. Rather, both means of wealth acquisition were clearly manifested in the patterns of Tiszapolgár wealth distribution.

Fewer members of the Tiszapolgár community were buried without wealth, while slightly more possessed great wealth than during the Chalcolithic. [Figure 3] This phenomenon accounts for the more uniform distribution of wealth in the Early Copper Age and an egalitarian tendency that is further supported by a strong sexual differentiation. Males were conspicuously wealthier throughout the entire population. Figuring prominently among the wealthiest, where they associated more strongly with greater wealth than either the females or sub-adults, no males were without wealth. [Table 2] In addition, age played a decisive role in the acquisition of wealth. Not only were sub-adults generally poorer than adults, a male adult's wealth was apparently determined by his greater age at death, while that of the female members was not. [Table 4] Charismatic abilities could have been a significant asset to an aspiring male during the Early Copper Age.

The parallel problems of wealth distribution among the male sub-adult and adult populations testify to the existence of an ascribed system of status acquisition where wealth was transferred along male lines. [Table 6]

Mortuary ritual varied widely throughout the Tiszapolgár community, yielding no evidence for a pervasive culture tradition. The elite group, which included females and sub-adults, did not distinguish itself from the remainder of the population by a separate burial ritual. The need to identify wealthy individuals clearly decreased as social equality increased.

The Tiszapolgár society appears therefore to have offered leadership positions of authority to fewer members. A shift during the Early Copper Age to smaller more transient settlements that may have been caused by external pressure – possibly human, but more probably environmental – is suggested by the high infant mortality in Figure 4. Despite the decrease in skeletal deformities observed among the Tiszapolgár population, both the high infant mortality and the lower number of

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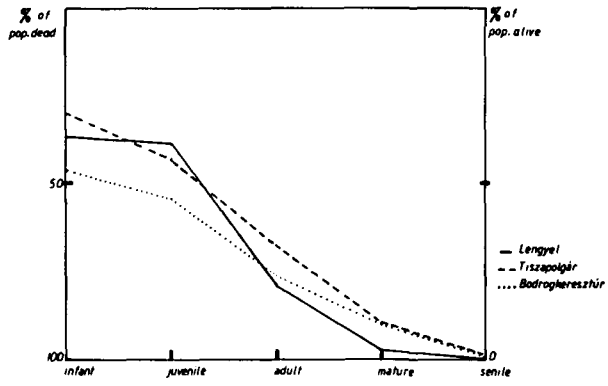

Figure 4

Cumulative Percent of Total Population per Age Category

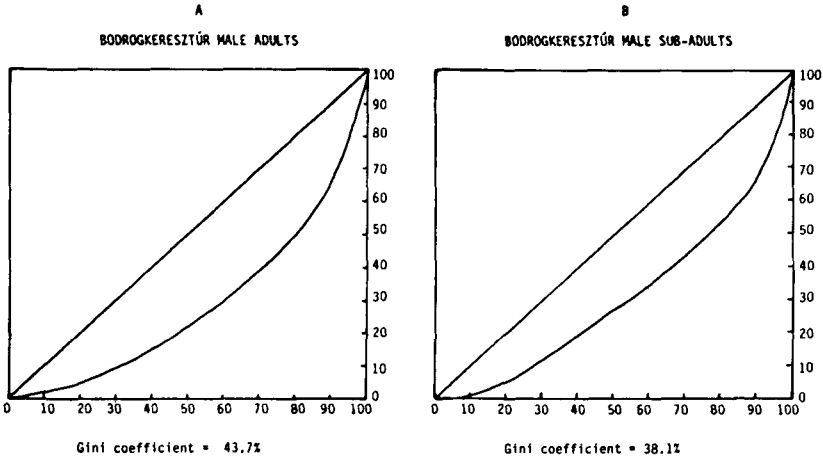

FIGURE 5

BODROGKERESZTÚR MALE ADULT AND SUB-ADULT

PATTERNS OF WEALTH DISTRIBUTION

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adult females (whether the result of female infanticide or of natural causes) argue strongly against a general improvement in living conditions during the Early Copper Age. The possibility of increased pressure is supported by clearly defined sexual roles and patterns of inheritance (particularly in the eastern-most cemeteries), the intensification of animal husbandry as the economic basis (Bökönyi 1974), and the general lack of defensive architecture from the excavated Tiszapolgár settlements. The greater degrees of variation which characterized the Early Copper Age cultural traditions and wealth distributional patterns may also be explained by community isolation, the product of greater separation in either time or space. The frequent innundations and consequent changes in the course of the Tisza River and its tributaries may well have contributed to a pattern of instability during the Early Copper Age.

MIDDLE COPPER AGE BODROGKERESZTÚR

The Middle Copper Age Bodrogkeresztúr community throughout Hungary featured the most uniform distribution of wealth, in addition to an internal pattern which most closely approximated that of an egalitarian social system. Burial wealth was more accessible to all sub-groups within the population, at both extremes of the Lorenz curve, e.g., fewer had no wealth, and more possessed great wealth. [Figure 3]

Both sex and age were highly correlated with wealth and status. [Tables 2-4] Females were particularly visible recipients of wealth among the Bodrogkeresztúr; not, however, at the complete expense of the adult males who accumulated wealth with age. Adults possessed greater wealth and appeared to have enjoyed a wider range of social statuses. Bodrogkeresztúr sub-adults displayed less total wealth and a limited social presence.

There is evidence of a limited system of inheritance in which the sub-adults derived a slight advantage from their birth status. Further, sub-adult males may have benefited from their association with adult kinsmen insofar as their patterns of internal wealth distribution are similar. [Figure 5]

The wealthiest group included a preponderance of female adults and admitted fewer sub-adults or males [Table 2] The female adult's role in the Bodrogkeresztúr society was well-defined and likely assigned at the onset of her social maturity. Moreover, her greater status may have derived from a more

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important economic role played during the Middle Copper Age.

The pattern of differential emphasis upon female members of the community, documented for both the Lengyel and Bodrogkereztúr societies, is complemented by similar evidence from neighboring pre-Bronze Age European cultures, the Neolithic Linear Ceramic culture (van de Velde 1979a, b) and the Corded Ware through Early Unetice cultures (Vehik 1975).

The Bodrogkeresztúr, although a much larger community than the Tiszapolgar, appears to have denied its leading citizens permanent authority. In addition to increased equality, the totality of information acquired from this investigation does not support the development during the Middle Copper Age of the 'incipient form of centralized authority founded upon a gentile framework' proposed for the Early Unetice by O'Brien (1978: 309). On the contrary, the results of this research support Sherratt's assertion that the development of metallurgy did not directly cause economic changes (1976: 558) and that the new technology involves a much longer process of both social and economic change. The Bodrogkeresztúr culture was actively involved in the exploitation and trade of local copper resources, yet no rise in social inequality concomitant with increased copper exploitation of the nature described by O'Brien (1980) were evident. It would appear, therefore, that the effects of this new technology were not profound. Bodrogkeresztúr society thus reconstructed vindicates Sherratt's further observation that 'metal supplies were of no greater importance than other raw materials...and not of vital strategic significance' (1972: 532).

Probably the Bodrogkeresztúr centralized authority acquired differential access to material possessions but did not control them. The explicit cultural traditions characterizing the Middle Copper Age were probably reinforced by a central organization stronger than existed earlier, based upon more established communities and dependent upon an effective communication network. The institutionalization which distinguishes the Middle Copper Age may have been developed in response to external competition. There is evidence to suggest that an encroachment of foreign groups into the Carpathian Basin occurred during the latter part of the Middle Copper Age, e.g., tumulus burials are numerous in the southeastern portion of the basin.

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These patterns of Bodrogkeresztúr social organization are corroborated by Tringham's observation that a generalized economic and developmental 'spurt' occurred during the fourth millennium B.C. (1977: 2). She cites increased intra-European communications, population growth, intensification of food and commodity production, intensive exploitation of easily tillable land, and subsequent competition for arable land as the major causative factors. By the end of the fourth millennium B.C. approximately contemporary with the upper limits of the Bodrogkeresztúr, [Table 1] both renewable and non-renewable resources (e.g., wood) had been over-exploited. The shortage of resources, according to Tringham, led to an increased population and the drastic socio-economic and technological changes which herald the Early Bronze Age (Ibid.: 5). Population increases are known to result in increased dependence upon domesticated resources (Harner 1970: 71). The Bodrogkeresztúr assemblage does, in fact, preserve evidence of a marked decline in the exploitation of wild fauna (Bökönyi 1974: 22-23).

The Bodrogkeresztúr society as described is consistent with the pattern of a Central and Southeast European cultural transformation as outlined by Tringham and Harner. However, it reflects only the initial stages of the transformation. No evidence for the evolution of a complex social system has yet been found.

Conclusions

The results of this study have demonstrated that strong similarities perceivable between cultural groups may indeed be disarticulated. For, despite the slight variations observed between the patterns of wealth distribution (Gini coefficient values) for each culture, as a whole wealth was not identically distributed by age, sex or kinship. Moreover, this investigation has served to describe the general levels of social evolution characteristic of the Carpathian Basin on the threshold of its entry into the Bronze Age, the point at which archaeologists begin to consider the question of an Indo-European presence in Europe.

Correlative to an interest in community burial beginning in the Chalcolithic, an increasing complexity of burial ritual evidenced by the quantity and variety of grave gifts, the pre-

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paration and deposition of the dead was documented. Although a surge occurred during the Early Copper Age, the increased wealth was not exploited by a minority of each population; rather, its accumulation may be associated with a more uniform distribution including a decrease in burials without wealth. As previously observed, this pattern contrasts sharply with that expected for Copper Age societies directly involved in the exploitation of commodities such as copper and gold or Chalcolithic societies employing imported objects made of *spondylus* or obsidian. Furthermore, the scant evidence for a cohesive elite class of individuals supports the conclusion that none of the societies studied was stratified by wealth.

Based upon the previously outlined reconstructions of social organization the Tiszapolgár culture emerges as the most likely time during which initial contact with a foreign cultural group whose wealth and status were ascribed according to patrilineal principles occurred – such as has been reconstructed for the Proto-Indo-European speaking culture. Male wealth was both greater and more uniformly distributed than that of the females. The similar adult and sub-adult wealth distribution patterns attest to the important role played by kinship in the apportionment of burial wealth. In addition, the fact that both the wealthier adult males and the sub-adult males displayed similar internal variations of wealth is strong evidence in support of a patrilinear system of inheritance. An active male role in the society's economy is illustrated by the fact that male wealth continued to increase through life, whereas female wealth appears to have been assigned at one time during her life, most probably at birth or marriage.

Male dominance of the wealthiest Early Copper Age group provides further testimony of a patrilinear system of inheritance. The fact that female and sub-adults were also included in this inheritance pattern attests to their consanguine or affinal connection with wealthy adult males.

The argument for an Early Copper Age contact with eastern influences is rendered more persuasive by the fact that neither the preceding Chalcolithic culture nor the succeeding Middle Copper Age group evinced identical patterns of social behavior, where they exhibited contrasting patterns of wealth distribution among age and sexual groups. The Tiszapolgár culture appears to have been a relatively unique but isolated phenomenon

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during the fourth millennium B.C. in the Carpathian Basin, possibly the consequence of a unique encounter with a distinctive cultural group, such as that reconstructed for PIE.

The theory of IE expansion westward through Europe is unfortunately too often interpreted in terms of the pattern of more recent historical migrations. As an example, the period of *népvándorlás* (the great migrations), which culminated in the arrival of the Magyars during the ninth century A.D., serves as the archetype of territorial expansion in Hungary today. Those rare, but glorious fossils of IE arrival manifest by the coexistence and eventual assimilation of the indigenous Cucuteni A and steppic cultures, and the clear destruction levels in Troy IV intimate that an IE presence was attested by upheaval and turmoil. The results of the present research argue, however, that had small communities of PIE-speaking peoples entered the Carpathian Basin, the chances are that they were eventually assimilated by encounters with the local culture/s, not wholly unlike their own. The foregoing measures of communality, in addition to what were found to be relatively low levels of statistical variation, imply that the major changes which occurred from the Chalcolithic to Middle Copper Age were primarily internally generated in response to gradually changing environments and external influences. Evidence does not support an abrupt incursion, or suggest local submission to an alien PIE culture of the nature described by Stover and Kraig (*Stonehenge: The Indo-European Heritage*). Instead of subordination to IE warlords who maintained a separate existence and imposed their dialect *à la Pax Romana* upon the previous inhabitants (as in the case of the Celtic expansion), many, if not most, of the earliest European contacts with migrants resulted in the latter's absorption into the local culture.

Recommendations

In an effort to answer questions regarding the nature of the social system which facilitated such an apparently rapid assimilation of Europe and resulted in the distinct IE mytho-linguistic culture, the following approaches are urged of both linguists and archaeologists for future research.

First, the primary problem encountered in this and related studies has been the need for an archaeologically applicable definition of PIE-IE society. The majority of linguistically

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preserved facts describe phenomena which do not survive in the earth, or which present an idealized version of society from the point of view of the élite classes. For example, despite the volume of literature devoted to the identification of the IE kinship system with that known as Omaha, evidence of cross-cousin terminological designation is not yet within the archaeologist's grasp, nor is it anticipated that subtle distinctions between Omaha types II and IV will be measurable using the present archaeological tools. In the absence of similar textual information for comparison with the pre- or non-IE populations, linguists, archaeologists and students of folklore and mythology are further tasked to *isolate* those aspects of IE life which *most* characterize the IE experience, e.g., those which when considered as a set uniquely describe what is understood to be Indo-European. The horse sacrifice was widely known through Europe and parts of Asia in varying cultural contexts. In what ways did such archaeologically and historically preserved IE-speaking peoples such as the Scythians and the Celts share this experience? Moreover, did their experience differ measurably from that recorded for non-IE speaking peoples such as those of the Shang Dynasty during the second millennium B.C.? Were there historical relationships between these?

Second, the results of the foregoing research indicate that similar methods of anaylsis as those described here be applied to the archaeological remains of historic cultures assumed to have spoken IE dialects. For example, what was the structure of the Celtic La Tène social system? How does it compare with that reconstructed for PIE? In what ways does it correspond to that of the Mycenaean Greeks or Hittites? And, do their areas of communality explain the pattern of IE expansion apparent in the linguistic record?

As a result of this investigation into Copper Age social structure, another thread has been successfully loosened from the Indo-European stereotype. For, the earliest appearances of Proto-Indo-Europeans west of the Carpathians could clearly not have been so tumultuous as those recorded of their historical brethren. Indeed, the present research has demonstrated that resolution of issues surrounding an early IE or PIE arrival depends upon the detection of subtle variations within heterogeneous indigenous populations. Extant IE reconstructions have, however, assumed the contrary; yet those reconstructions

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of IE cultures and social structures have proven thus far of limited assistance to those working with archaeological assemblages and tools.

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